CAUSA DEI,

OR AN

APOLOGY

FOR

GOD.

Wherein

WHEREIN

The Perpetuity of Infernal Torments is Evinced, and Divine both Goodness and Justice (that notwithstanding) Defended.

The Nature of Punishments in General, and of Infernal ones in Particular Displayed.

The Evangelical Righteousness Explicated and Settled.

The Divinity of the Gentiles both as to things to be Believed, and things to be Practised, Adumbrated; and the wayes whereby it was Communicated, plainly Discover'd.

By Richard Burthogge, M. D.

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To the ever Honour'd

JAMES ERISEY OF ERISEY IN THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL, Esquire.

SIR,

THere is no need we pass the Seas to seek a Countrey of Prodigies, our Own will furnish Instances

enough of *Men* that would be thought more Merciful than God Himself; who not finding in their Hearts how to condemn themselves or others to Eternal Pains, *will* not apprehend how God should find it in His. The main Topicks insisted on by those so tender dispositions in order to the extinguishing the Everlasting Fire are, First, *The* Finity of *Sin*, that in its own Nature cannot Merit an Infinite Punishment. Secondly, *The* Nature of *Punishment*, which is for Castigation and Amendment, wherewith the Perpetuity of it cannot consist. Thirdly, *The* almost Invincible Tencations that even *Christians* (Weak and Im-

Impotent as they be) are surrounded with , which renders the state of Absolute Perfection that only has the Promise of Blessedness, Unattainable by most of them. And is it not Hard that Poor Souls so very easily diverted from the Way to Heaven , (though they have it shown them ,) should for ever be condemned to such a Hell! Fourthly , *The* more Tremendous Circumstances of the *Heathen* , that never heard of Jesus Christ the Way, Truth and Life , who would be treated with Severity , with Rigour to Astonishment , if, for not Proceeding in a Path which they were never Ac-

quainted of, They should be Damned to Eternal Torments. In *a Word*, How can it comport with the Infinite Goodness, Love, Kindness, and Fatherly Bowels, of which Almighty *God* doth make Profession to the world? And who can once think that Tender Mercies, that Compassions that never fail, should suffer *Him* so quietly, without Remorse, without Pity, to behold his Own Offspring Frying in Eternal and Unquenchable Flames!

You see *Sir*, how hard a Task that Person has, and in how large a Field he is to Expatiate, that will Establish Perpetuity in Infernal

Torments; which was indeed the only thing designed by me at first, but I found my self in Prosecution of that Design, instead of framing only one Discourse, if I would not have that One Defective, Obliged to Digress into several. Wherefore, I resolved to permit my Thoughts the liberty to range into the *common Places* of *Hell*, of *Punishment* in general, of *Humane Imperfection* and the *Evangelical Righteousness*, and of the Admirable *Instances* of Wisdom, Goodness and Justice in Divine Transactions with the *Heathen*, as well as *Jew* and *Christian*; that Assuming this Freedom, I might Display the

the *Syntax*, Harmony, Connexion, Concinnity of the Notions I Employ, and on which I Bottom, with greater Perspicuity and Clearness, than otherwise I could have hoped to Effect it. In all, the thing I Principally Aim at, is to manifest what *plain* and *sober* Reason can do to solve Objections about them.

I call the Whole *Apologie for God*, because the Arguments Alledged, are *Criminations*, Insinuating Want of Goodness, Justice, Wisdom in the great Creator, if *really* there be a Perpetuity in the Torments setled by Him; And no Doubt, but when the Arguments are Accusations, to Dissolve and Satisfie

tisfie Them, is to make an Apology.

Little thought had I to have Engag'd my self on This, or on resembling Subjects, when I was *Invited* to it by a Letter from One from whom I as little expected it; Who Reflecting on an *Essay* lately published concerning Divine Goodness, imagines it Imperfect, for that I do not from the Infinite Divine Benignity, conclude either the Non-Existence of Infernal Torments, or their Finite Duration. As if God cannot be Just, if he be Good.

Such was the Rise of these Discourses, which I Dressed in the Habit of an *Epistle*,

stle, Not to interest therein the Person who Occasion'd it more than Others, but for *Form-sake*, that the Notions I conceiv'd, might enter in more easily upon the Readers Mind; who, if intangled with the same thoughts, the same Scruples it Obviates, may look on *This Letter* as One of Resolution, written to Himself about Them.

As it is, I humbly make a Present of it to You. Not that I Presume to put the Honour of Your Name upon it, with design to get Protection for Defects and Weaknesses therein, that do not Deserve it; But to Proclaim to All the World, that

if

if Truth could need a Patron, I know None more Eminently Qualified to be He, than your self; and None more Worthy of the Zeal and Highest Devotions of

SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,

Bowden, Aug. 25. 1674.

Richard Burthogge,

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

In the Text, p.33.l.22.r.—שׁ : p.35.l.15.r.κα— : p.39. l.25. r. *And Albeit it* : p.44. l.2.r. ἀρχωσία : l.13. *so* r. *and* : p.78.l.23.r. *or laying of them on on those* : p.83.l.10,11. dele ( ) p.110.l.2.ἀξιοργάσατο : p.114.l.8.r.*Good* : p. 124. l.14. φαε r. *sae* : p.127.l.13.for τιμὴν ἀνόμασθ, r. τιμῶς ὄφα : p. 133. l.26.r. *owns* : p.138. l.20.r.*legers* : p.160. l.15.r. *as it is in us* : p.182. l.13.dele *and* : p.192. l.19.r. ἐδεβαρθ : p.228. l.6. r.*tam* : p.276.l.14.r.*Fable* : p.316.l.7.r. *at Rome* : p.319.l.17. *him* r. *it* : p.325. l.15. ἐτι r. ἔτη : p.348. l.16.r.*Innovandi* : p.354.l.1.r. μαχάτωνα : p.358.l.10.r.*Paulinus* : p.365.l.16. r.*Corringius* : p.366.l.2.dele *the* : p.371. for *Greece* r. *Ægypt* : p.383.l.18.r. *is derived* : p.390. l.26.r. *was* : p. 391. l. 6. r. *cited* : p. 392. l. ult. dele *Antient* : p. 394. l. 9.r. Ἀναπολογήτος : p. 398. l.8. r. *Saporis* : p.410. l.20.r. *their premises* : p. 414. l.10. r. ידעת.

In the Margin p. 266. r. *Gazetus* : p. 275. r. *Pinnard.* p. 299. after *infra* add *pag.* 383, 384. p. 307. r. *secundâ* : p. 328. r. 274. p. 347. r. *Ovav.* p. 384. r. *Diction.*

To his much Honoured and Worthy Friend *Richard Burthogge* Doctor of Physick.

Honoured Sir,

I *Lately met with a Discourse of yours: both the Subject and Title of it, as well as the Authors name invited me to a perusal. What you designed in that Essay, I think you have very well performed: But I confess*

I expected more than I found, and I believe such a mind as yours, can both inlarge and improve the subject.

Without doubt 'tis true what you suggest, that it is a Satanical illusion, "That God Rules by "will; that he hath no conside-"ration of his creatures comfort, "but only of his own Glory; that "he made the greatest part of "men to damn them, and tri-"umph in their ruine; and that "he cruelly exacts impossibilities, "and obliges men to come, when "yet he knows they cannot.

But Sir, they are not Atheists, but men of great Devotion, and in the last Age admired for their parts, and piety, that confidently asserted such things as the Christian Doctrine. These are not

only

only the Dogma's *of the* Hobbists, *and* Mahometans, *but of Gentlemen of the* Geneva Twang; *and therefore whatsoever an Atheist may be in his practice, according to these principles, he is speculatively Orthodox and Godly. I suggest this, because in your making the Atheist to personate* ——*you know whom, you make too severe a reflection upon either their Learning or their Religion.*

Since (Sir) you have been pleased so happily to enter upon so good and gracious a subject, might it not be worthy your consideration to give an account How it is consistent with the Divine Goodness to inflict infinite and eternal Punishments for finite Transgressions?

Punishment (according to the Notion we have of it) is either for the Good of the whole, or of the part, *and 'tis inflicted* not *to torment the Criminal, but either* to amend *him, or the society of which he is a member, that both may enjoy the comforts, and the sweets of it: But what of good in everlasting Punishment is there to either of these? or how doth it agree with the Notion of Infinite Goodness according to your own description?*

Not to urge, that the most that are Christians, lye, and live under such odd circumstances, *that they are very near in impossibility wholly to subdue and suppress the influences of sense, and yet must they be plagued or punisht with unspeakable and eternal tortures?* How

How much more dismal and tremendous doth it look that those People in *America*, *Japan*, *China*, *Lapland*, &c. *that live under an unavoidable ignorance* (*I mean morally so*) *that yet these poor creatures for what they cannot help, shall be cast into Everlasting Darkness, and sorrows, and that there are no reserves for their acting for a happiness they have no notice of, or very little, or if they have, yet are ignorant of the proper methods to attain it? How agrees this with Infinite and Eternal Goodness? A return to such an Enquiry in order to a farther explication of Divine Goodness would do a great deal of service to the Religion which we own. Some such thoughts as these have*

disturb'd mine about the receiv'd and common Faith of future punishments; and if ever your inclinations lead you to a second Edition of yours, some Considerations about such an Objection may not I think be impertinent.

I hope I need not beg a Pardon for this trouble from a person that pleads for so much Goodness: but question not but you will candidly entertain and construe this bold offer of

Your real Friend and
Admirer,

W. A.

CAUSA

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SIR,

ALthough I am not so vain as to flatter my self into a conceit, that either the first or the second Apprehensions of All, or of Most are like to be as partial in my Favour, or Candid, as a Generous and Noble friends:

friends : Yet to obey you, and to acquit my self of some part of what I owe you for your Kindness to my former Discourse, and for your Civility to me, I am at last resolv'd to Expose Another to Mercy; well Assured that whatever Entertainment Ruder hands may give it, It shall receive in Yours, and in those of worthy Persons, none but what is Fair and Equitable. And this is all it desires. Which that you may afford without Repugnance, I must oblige you to consider, that if you do not find in this Essay, no more than in the Former, the Gratification and Delight that Novelty in things is wont to bring with it, you ought not to impute it either as a Fault to the Author, or as a Defect to the Work, but to ascribe it purely to the Fulness and Riches of your own Mind; it being that alone which renders you uncapable of such agreeable Surprize and Pleasure, as not a Few Resent in what appeareth New to them, because indeed there

can

can but little seem so to one of your Endowments and Knowledge. But what talk I of things New? For as to my first Essay, whosoever shall but give himself the trouble to Remind the Method I imployed therein, will easily Determine I never had design of innovating *new Notions*, seeing if I had, I could not hope to evidence them in the wayes I there propos'd (to do it) either from the *Scriptures*, by which I was to regulate my self in all I said, or from the *Philosophers*. You may believe I only courted Truth, and that I resolved to express my self in *common* Notions, and to common sense, in Reasons that were suitable to Mankind, fully Perswaded, that the things I treated on were of so ample, and so large a Nature, that no Arguments, no Notions of Scholasticks, or of any other private Faction, Party, Sect, or Division of men, would ever Adæquate, and Suit, and Fit them. Notions deduced from common

sense,

sense, are only capable of Adjusting things of common Concernment. And if I my self have any regard for these Conceptions, which have had the Fortune to entertain the World with *Variety* of Discourse, 'tis only for their plainness and facility, because I take them generally to be such as every body that attends, will think he had the same before, and that he never thought otherwise: Which if they were not, I should be very much inclined to suspect them False, since I am apt enough to think it to be as true of Truth, as of the God of Truth, that it is not far from any of us, if we will but feel and grope after it. Certainly those Conceptions are not most likely to be truest, which are most elaborate and fartheſt fetcht; but which are easiest and most natural. Truth lyeth not so deep in the Well, as many (with *Democritus*) think, and who thinking so, do often overlook it.

And having made you this Apology

logy for the Plainness of my *first Essay*, I hope I need not add, that in this second you are not to expect Profound, Uncommon, Deep, Elaborate Notions, but Easie, Natural, Sensible, Plain and Obvious Ones, [such as whoever reads, may comprehend] in what I shall rejoyn to your *Letter*. *which*, that my Reply unto it may be the more distinct and orderly, I shall distribute into *three* Parts, and so proportion and adjust my *Answer*; of which

The First *containeth matter of Reflection on Others.*

The Second, *matter of Charge on Me.*

The Third, *matter of Exception, or Argument* against *Divine Goodness.*

Of these in Order.

And first concerning the first *Head*, matter of Reflection on Others, "These are not only Dog-"ma's of the *Hobbists*, and *Maho-"metans*, but of Gentlemen of the "*Geneva* Twang.

And

And here I beg pardon for disowning that knowledge you impose upon me, concerning worthy Persons of the *Geneva Persuasion*; (for I presume, you mean *Geneva Persuasion* by **Geneva Tenets**, a term I profess I do as little understand in any other sense, as I believe it not to be *Canonical* or Receiv'd in this.) For I know not any under that Notion so forsaken of their Wits, or their Religion, as in terms to Assert, "God Rules by Will; "that he hath no consideration of "his Creatures comfort, but only "of his own Glory; that he made "the Greatest part of men to Damn "them and triumph in their Ru-"ine, and that he cruelly exacts "Impossibilities, and obliges men to "come, when yet he knows they "cannot.

But, if there are any under that, or other Notions, who affirm and assert such things, (though properly I may not call them *Atheists*) and indeed it were a Contradiction in the

the Adject so to do) yet I think, I shall not be Uncharitable in believing that they that *are none*, have *made many*, since I know not any more effectual way of inclining and disposing men unto Denyal of the Being of God, than to Represent and Paint him out to them, in *Idea's* not agreeable to common Reason, nor Sense. You may sooner make them believe themselves to be no men, than that there is such a God. They that have been constantly told that Contradictions cannot be, and that God himself can never make them be, will very hardly be induced to believe, that God himself is, if the very Notion they are taught of him be a contradiction. And who can reconcile the Roughness of these Expressions of the Absolute and Tyrannical Empire of God, to those other softer ones of his Goodness and Kindness, and Tenderness for men? Certainly, the Will of God by which he doth all things, is not absolute, and meer Will, but

βουλὴ συμβουλίου, Counsel of Will; and εὐδοκία Good Will, Good Pleasure. And thus all men *should* speak.

True it is, that all *do* not, for some, especially (the) Moderns, in Vindication and assertion of Divine *Dominion* and Soveraignty, have biassed too much to one Extream, using terms sounding not a little harsh in mild and temperate Ears: as others on the contrary, in contemplation and assertion of Divine *Goodness* and Clemency, have also done to the other. The *Reason* of mens running to extreams in this matter, and of their aberration from the mark and scope to which they should direct their thoughts, is, that they look on God *abstractly*, under one or other Attribute, whereas they ought to consider him in all his Attributes together; and all these, in all their several and respective Aspects, as they have a mutual Influence upon, Concernment with, and Respect, Order, and Habitude unto each other. For such an A-

gency

gency on one another, and such a Complication and Concernment have the Attributes in God, that it is as true of them in their Connection in the Godhead, as of the Persons of the Trinity, that One is in Another, or rather, that they are together in God, so as that one receiveth some modification (as it were) and some respect from the other. You may believe of all the other Attributes, in their mutual and respective Aspects, what I shall instance but in One; I mean **Divine Goodness**, which as it is complicated [for Example] with alike **Greatness**, so it receives a Character therefrom, and must be suitably deferred to. Thus *David*, there is *mercy with thee that thou mayest be Feared*; Mercy, that thou mayest be feared; and therefore God is to be feared for his mercy, because he is as Great, as Merciful; and so *Moses, Fearful in Praises*; Fearful Objectively and Passively; God is to be feared while we praise him,

and for this reason, because he is Almighty as well as Beneficent, Dread Majesty as well as Gracious, and consequently, not only the Object of our Love and Praise, but of our Fear and Dread. We ought not too abstractly to consider God under One Attribute, without reflecting on him under others, for we must *rejoyce with trembling*; while we Rejoyce in his Goodness, we must also Tremble at his Greatness. He is Good, and He is Great also.

Concerning the **second Head**, *matter of Charge on me.*——"But "Sir they are not Atheists, *&c.*

And so much for the **first** part of your Letter, and in return to the **second**, or as to those Reflections you suggest me to intend, in making the Atheist Personate, you tell not who; I utterly disclaim them, and profess with all imaginable clearness and sincerity, that though I know a sort of persons (far enough from being *Atheists*) that do argue against others, in terms somewhat resembling

resembling some of those wherein I dress mine, yet I was not guilty of a Design of so much weakness, as in what I said to Reflect on them for that as such. I am free to say of all Reflection in the Present matter, as some are wont to say of far fetch'e Jests, that he alone does make the Reflection, that can understand it to be One. For my part, I abhor Reflections and Hard words, as neither Philosophical, nor Civil, nor Christian. Nor did I introduce the Atheist to personate another, but to speak for himself. But while we are mentioning Reflections, give me leave to ask, if you your self reflected not on Gentlemen of the *General Twang*, while you were yoaking them with the *Hobbists* and with the *Malebranchians*.

Concerning the **third head** *point of Argument, or Exception against Divine Goodness.*

And having (as I hope) in what I have offer'd, fully vindicated my self from all that sinister Interpre-

tation you Insinuate me subject to, I am now according to the Order you observe in your Letter, oblig'd in the **Third** place to **vindicate Divine Goodness**, from those *Exceptions* that do seem to lye against it, in relation to Eternal Punishment.

Which that I may do the more Distinctly, and to your full contentment, I will Reduce the Arguments you Urge about it, to **four heads.**

The First.

The seeming improportion of Infinite and Eternal Punishments to Finite Transgressions.

The Second.

The Incongruity of Perpetuity in Punishment unto the Ends of Punishment.

The Third.

The Odd and Unaccountable circumstances of most Christians.

The

The Fourth.

The more Tremendous Ones of heathens.

Of these in order, and first to the first *Argument, the seeming improportion of Infinite and Eternal Punishment to Finite Transgressions.*

———"Give an account (you "say) how it is consistent with "Divine Goodness to inflict Infinite "and Eternal Punishments for Fi-"nite Transgressions.

And here, you will give me leave to Awaken in your thoughts an Observation, which no question you have made your self long ago, that Opinions and other Motions of our Minds, are as often the Result of Constitution and Complexion, as of Reason and Judgement. For That Consideration in a person of a tender, sensible and compassionate Temper (such as your own) is sufficient to account to any that Reflects upon it, for the Difficulty he may find his Thoughts to make, to conceive it consistent with Divine Goodness, That Infi-

nite and Eternal Punishments should be inflicted on the sinner, but for Temporal and Finite Transgressions,

But for your fuller satisfaction in the present Scruple, and an Impregnable and clear Assertion of **Divine Goodness**, as well as **Justice** (which also is concerned) from all the Ignominious Apprehensions under which they seem to lye in this Matter, I shall here particularly Evidence,

First, *That it hath pleased God to order and appoint for sin, Infinite, or Everlasting Punishments and Torments, to be inflicted Hereafter.*

Secondly, *That there is not any Inequality or Improportion between the Punishment ordained, and the Sin, but a great Equality and Proportion.*

Thirdly, *That it is a great Instance of Divine Benignity and Goodness to ordain Eternal Punishments, and to threaten men with them, as a suitable means in order to their Reformation in the present world,*

world, and to their salvation in the future.

Fourthly, *That it being Goodness to Ordain the Punishment, and to threaten men with it, in order to the compassing those Good and Gracious Ends upon them, It is no want of Goodness, no more than 'tis Injustice, to Inflict it on the Obstinate and Irreclaimable, on whom these Good Designs are lost and defeated.*

Of these in Order.

And **First**, *That it hath pleased God to order and appoint for sin not only Temporal, and Momentany, but Infinite and Eternal Punishments,* and that he threatens men with *them*, is a great Truth; such an One as is so fully setled in the Holy Scriptures, that I Admire how any who Pretend to read these, can make any Question of it. For what expression can be more significant and full, than that of *John*? that the Blessed Jesus, when he once hath gathered all his Wheat into his Granary, *C. burn up the chaffe*

with

with Unquenchable Fire; Alluding in it (likely) unto that of *Isaiah*, their *worm shall not dye, neither shall their Fire be quench'd.* Nor is that of *Jesus Christ* himself, in the Form of the Sentence (hereafter in the day of Judgement) to be pronounced on the Wicked, less Pregnant, *Depart from me ye Cursed into Everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* And as full as either, is this of our great *Apostle*, that the Lord Jesus shall hereafter be *Revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming Fire, taking* Vengeance *on them who know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who* (saith he) *shall be punished with* Everlasting Destruction, *from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.* Everlasting Destruction, ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον. the same word to shew the Everlastingness of that Destruction, as to shew the Everlastingness of God himself: It is here [illegible] Everlasting De-

Destruction, and otherwhere, it is ὁ θεὸς αἰώνιος, the Everlasting God. I know αἰώνιος sometimes used to signifie a Duration that is not Everlasting; but you see it also used to signifie One that is: And the *Subject Matter* must determine the Sense.

And who can once Question the Perpetuity and Everlastingness of Future Punishments, that seriously considers the Greatness and Infinity of the **Wrath** that shall inflict them? They are to be the Issues of the Utmost Wrath of God, and therefore are not simply called Wrath, but **Wrath in the Day of Wrath**; Men treasuring up unto themselves infernal Torments, being Affirmed in the Sacred Writings, to *treasure up wrath unto themselves against the Day of wrath.*

And Judge how great a Wrath that is, since all Resentments in the heart of God proportion and adjust him? Without Question, whatever is in God, is in him according to the Vastness and Capacity of God;

so

so that seeing God is absolutely Infinite in Being, and also is Immutable and Unchangeable, Wrath and Hatred, as well as Love and Good Will, as they exist in him, are also so. *The wrath of the King is as the Roaring of a Lion*; what then is the Wrath of the *King of Kings!*

It is true, the Anger of Almighty God is in the present Dispensation trusted in the hands of Jesus Christ, [*All Judgement is committed to the Son*] and therefore for the present, since He, who hath the letting out of Wrath, is partaker of the Flesh and Blood of the Brethren, and so of kin to us, no wonder if it be let out according to Humane Measures, and with some consideration, and respect for man; which yet hereafter in the World to come, when things shall be no longer in a Mediators hands, but God himself who is inexorable, and inflexible but in his Son, shall immediately be All in All, and do All in All, is not to be presumed or hoped. So that though

though Divine Wrath break not out on sinners altogether in this World, yet in another it will. There is a **Day of Wrath**, and of the Revelation of the Righteous Judgement of God.

Here perhaps it may *be offer'd*, that Jesus Christ is so invested in the Government of things, that he has not only the managery of them before the day of Judgement, but is also to conclude the *Scene* in it, and consequently that the *Sentence* then to be pronounced, since it is to be so by a man, *will be past on men with some allay* and abatement. But it must be minded, that though the Son of man shall Judge the World, yet that he shall come to do so ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, in the **Glory of his Father**, or in Divine Majesty; as who would say, that when he Judges, He will lay aside those Humane considerations and Respects he had before, and as he appeared more like man in all Precedent Transactions, so that He

He will shew himself like God in this last. Beside, He will immediately resign the Government, assoon as he hath passed sentence; and (as I noted before) then *God shall be All in All*, so no Mutation, no Alteration (after that) of States or Things.

I confess, Philosophy as clear and quick-sighted as she was in other Articles of Christian Doctrine, was but obscure and dimm in This. For though she saw a day of Judgement, and Rewards and Punishments in the Future Life, for whatever should be done in the Present, as is evident not only in *Plato*, both in the Story of *Erus* in his *Rep.* and in that fabulous tradition of which in *Gorgias* he maketh *Socrates* Relater; but also in *Plutarch*, in his Consolation to *Apollonius*, and in his *Golden Treatise* of Divine deferring of Punishment. So in *Seneca*, in *Iamblicus*, and in many other of the grave and antient Philosophers.

Yet

Yet for want of Understanding of the Interest that Jesus Christ hath in Things *Now*, and by consequence, unhappily mistaking in taking measure of the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments hereafter, by what is at present; She saw not their *Eternity* and Infinite duration. For whoever readeth *Plato* in his Book of Laws, cannot doubt of his Opinion in the matter; nor is *Plutarch* less plain, who in the Fable of *Thespesius of Soles*, expressly tells us, that Infernal Punishments are Purgatory and Medicinal, as *Ephesius* also thought the Καθαρσεις or Infernal Fire to be. And withal, that there is a certain Term set for their Duration and Continuance, which expires, when the soul is fully cleansed, purged and Refined by them, from all Infection of Matter, and all its Filth. Finis *autem* (saith he) & terminus *tormentorum ac purgationis existit, quum concreta excepta est labes, animaq; splendida & ab omnibus maculis & labe reddit*

Plutar. de iis q. tar. à Num. convip.

Clem. Alex. and. Strom. l. 5.

Plut. de iis qui tard. à Num. cur.

dinar para. This was *Plutarch's* Opinion of Infernal Torments, and *Seneca* can own no other, as will appear hereafter, when we shall shew his notion of Punish ment.

Virgil. apud Lactan. Instit. L. 7. c. 22.

Yes, and if we will believe *Virgil* in the Eloquent *Lactantius*, it was in his time a General Tradition (for he but Relates what he himself had heard, *sit mihi fas audita loqui,*) That the Damned Spirits, after they have suffered in the Infernal Gaol *a thousand years*, the Punishments inflicted on them (for their sins) are at the expiration of the said Term, to be sent to *Lethe*, there to take a Cup of Oblivion or Forgetfulness. And having drunk there their Fill, Benummed with a Mortal Sopor, and consequently Irrecoverably losing and forgetting All they did, or suffer'd before, are then *Restored* to a new Condition, and Re-admitted into Heaven, where they live again in all Felicity and Happiness, till not contented with it, but Longing to make another Tryal of their Fortunes

tunes here below on this Terrestrial Stage, they be accordingly disposed into Proper Vehicles, and (so) Reappear in Our World to expiate that Folly and Weakness of leaving the Other. This is the **Round.** A *Revolution* and *Hypothesis* to which the *Origenian* is so like, that I believe it a *Daughter*; and so believed St. *Augustine*, who mentions and confutes it as *Origen's*. Again, who seeth not in this (Hypothesis) That *Lethe*, that Fiction of the *Poets*, Answers to the **State of Silence**, which some Learnedmen improve, and stand upon so much in Their's! I lay it down as certain, That *Lethe* is the *State of Silence*. But let *Maro* speak himself.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 11. c. 23.

Has omnes ubi mille rotum volvêre per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno:
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant:
Rursus & incipiant in corpore velle reverti.

Again,

Again,

O pater anne aliquas ad cælum hinc
ire putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumq; ad tarda
reverti
Corpora: quæ lucis miseris tam dira
cupido?

This was the *Old Hypothesis*; so Dark were former Ages: Yes so dark were former Ages in the Point of Death Eternal, or of the Perpetuity of the Punishments in the other World, that before Christ, they seemed scarce at all to Understand it. This (I take it) is the meaning of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, when in the first Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*, he saith, *the wrath of God is Revealed from Heaven*; namely, that the *Light of Nature*, by which I understand the Catholick Tradition of the World, as well as common Reason, did not manifest the Perpetuity of infernal Torments,

Torments, but that before the Preaching of the Gospel, which is a Revelation of the Mind of God from Heaven, men as little apprehended the Wrath of God for sin, in the Duration and Eternity thereof, as they did the Righteousness of God, for Salvation from it. It is the Gospel bringeth both Eternal Death, and Eternal Life to Light. This Knowledge is an Effect of the Light of Revelation, and not of the Light of Nature. The Wrath of God, as well as the Righteousness of God, is *reveal'd* from Heaven. *Oppositorum eadem est scientia.*

But yet as clear a Revelation as there is Now from Heaven in the Gospel, of Eternal Wrath on Sinners, as the Philosophers before ignor'd it, so there are many *Christians* since, not only *Origen* and those who follow him, but also others, who make a scruple to admit it: concerning whom and their *Dogmata*, together with the Censure of the Church on *Origen* for this Conceit,

Aug. de Civ. dei, l. 21. c. 17.

you have the Excellent St. *Augustine* in a Chapter of his Treatise of the City of God, designedly discoursing in these terms. "Now I must have "a Gentle disputation with certain "tender hearts of *our own* Religion, "who think that God, who hath "justly doomed the Damned to Hell "fire, will *after a certain space*, "which his Goodness shall think fit "for the merit of each mans guilt, "deliver them from that torment. "And of this Opinion was *Origen* "in far more pittiful manner, for "He held that the *Devils* them-"selves after a set time expired, "should be loosed from their tor-"ments, and become bright Angels "in Heaven, as they were before; "but this and other of his Opini-"ons, chiefly that **Rotation**, and "Circum-volution of misery and "bliss, which he held, that all "mankind should run in, gave "the Church cause to pronounce him "**Anathema**, seeing he had lost, *&c.* But to Return.

Thus

Thus Infinite Eternal Punishments are (you see) ordain'd for Sinners. But of the *Nature* of them, and *where* they are Inflicted, as I cannot hold my self obliged to discourse here at large, so I shall not; Only thus much I will say, that Hell, it noteth not so much a Place, as a *State*; and yet in regard that that State must needs be in some Place, I will offer somewhat, first, as to the **Place**, and then, as to the **State**, or (if you please) the Kind and Nature of the Torments of Hell.

For the **Place**: The *old Theologists* among the Heathen (if we may believe *Macrobius*) before Philosophy was Extant, esteemed the *Body* Hell, and that the Soul descended into Hell, when first it came into the Body: *Antequam studium philosophiæ* (saith he) *circa naturæ inquisitionem ad tantum vigoris adolescerat, qui per diversas gentes autores in constituendis sacris ceremoniarum fuerunt, aliud esse inferos negaverunt, quàm ipsa* corpora; *quibus*

Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. 16.

bus inclusa anima, carcerem *sordum tenebris*, *horridum sordibus & cruore patiuntur.*

And *Basilides* that conceited Heretick, as also the *Marcionists* before him, held the same Opinion, that Souls that had committed sin in another Life, did come to satisfie and suffer for it in this; Than which (as a *Father* tells us) nothing could be said with more Extravagance and Folly. *Quæ* ignorantia *effecit, ut quosdam dicere non puderet, idcirco nos esse natos, ut scelerum pœnas lueremus, quo quid delirius dici possit, non invenio. Ubi enim, vel quæ scelera potuimus admittere, qui omnino non* fuimus? *Nisi forte credemus inepto illi seni, qui se in priori vita* Euphorbum *fuisse mentitus est.*

Lactant. de falsa sap. c. 18.

But some of the *Platonists* (for, as the lately mentioned *Macrobius* informs us, there were of three Opinions concerning it among them) affirmed that the Place of Hell was all that *space between the Moon*, or (as they Lov'd to speak) the *Ethe-*

real

real Earth and Thu; the Description whereof, as I receiv'd it from the Author, because it may afford an Entertainment to the Curious and Inquisitive, I will represent at large out of Him. *Inferos autem* Platonici *non in corporibus esse, id est, non à corporibus incipere, dixerunt, sed certam mundi ipsius partem Ditis sedem, id est, Inferos vocaverunt. De loci vero ipsius finibus inter se dissona publicarunt, & in* tres sectas *divisa sententia est. Alii enim mundum in duo diviserunt, quorum alterum* facit, *alterum* patitur. *Et illud facere dixerunt, quod cum sit immutabile, alteri causam & necessitatem permutationis imponit: Hoc pati, quod per mutationes variatur. Et immutabilem quidem mundi partem à Sphæra quæ aplanes dicitur,* usq; *ad globi lunaris exordium. Mutabilem vero à luna ad terras* usq; *dixerunt. Et vivere animas dum in immutabili parte consistunt, mori autem cum ad partem ceciderint permutationis capacem.*

Macrob. in Somn. Scip. c. 11.

pacem. Atq; ideo inter Lunam terrasq; *locum mortis & inferorum vocari, ipsamq; Lunam vitæ esse mortisque confinium, & animas inde in terram fluentes* mori, *inde ad superva meantes in* vitam reverti, *nec immerito existimatum est. A Luna enim deorsum natura incipit caducorum, ab hac animæ sub numerum dierum cadere, & sub tempus incipiunt. Deniq; illam* Ætheream terram *physici vocaverunt, & habitatores ejus* Lunares populos *nuncupaverunt*, &c.

But whatever this *Macrobius* tell us of the *Platonists*: Certainly, according to *Plato* himself, to most of the *Fathers*, and to the subtile *Schoolmen*, the Place of Hell (which, as these last affirm, must be as far as possible from that of Heaven) is *subterranean*, and near the Center: Of which in *Plato*'s *Phædo*, we have a large Description, not only in respect of all the Punishments and Torments in it, but of the several *Limbi* and Prisons. 'Twould be too long

long to repeat what he saith of it. *Iamblicus* in a place of his Protrepticks hints the same Opinion. *Præstantior quippe* (saith he) *anima cum diis habitat; & circum circa cœlum præsectionem suscipit, melioremq; finem assequitur. Quæ autem injusta opera contigit, impioq; opere atq; impietate oppleta fuit, ubi ad loca judicii* subterranea *venerit, æquam justamq; pœnam consequitur. Quarum causa omnia facienda sunt, ut interea, dum vivimus, virtutis prudentiæq; participes simus.* And what other thing doth that of *Plutarch* intimate——*Sed summa duntaxat Terræ Sole illuminantur;* Interiora *Caligo, Chaos,* Orcus *nominantur. Ac profecto* Erebus *ille* terrenarum *est tenebrarum Obscuritas.*

Iambl. Protrep. cap. 13.

Plutarch. de prin. frig.

Now of the three Opinions mentioned, the Holy Scripture seems to some to favour that most, which Perswades the *Air* (to be) the Place of Hell; for it is in *Tartarus,* or in the Air the Dæmons are imprisoned in the Chains of Darkness; and the

Devil, who is called the Devil of Hell, is styled in Holy Writings, the *Prince of the Power of the Air*, or as some translate it, consistently enough with this Opinion, the Prince of the Power of *Darkness*. I say consistently with this Opinion, since it is the Air that is by Many Antients [as well *Poets* as *Philosophers*] asserted the *darkest* and obscurest thing in Nature, *atqui ne* Poetas *quidem latuit* (saith *Plutarch*) *Aerem primo* tenebrosum, *&c.* and so *Phornutus*, *At postremo Animas accipientem* Aera ἀΐδα *vocarunt ob* Tenebras, (*ut ipsi quidem censebant*) *quum prorsus nobis disparuerint, qui eo* sub terram *concesserunt*. So conformably to them doth *Peter* speak, when in the second Chapter of his second Epistle, he saith God did **Tartarize** *the Angels in Chains of* Darkness, or put them in Chains of Darkness in *Tartarus*; or as we translate it very well, *Imprison* them in chains of Darkness. For *Tartarus* is

Plut. ubi supra.

Phornut. de Nat. Deor.

is the *Prison* of Justice, so *Socrates* in *Plato's Gorgias*, whence *Plutarch* had it in his Treatise *de consolatione ad Apollonium*—*qui vixisset injuste & impiè is in vindicta ac justitia* Carcerem, *quem* Tartarum *appellant, abiret.* And this *Tartarus* is in the Air. So *Hesiod* in *Plutarch*, *Proinde ex frigore Tartarus appellatus est*, *Quod* Hesiodus *ita declarat*, Tartaron aereum. Plu. de prim. frig.

But though the Scripture seem (to some) to favour this Opinion most, that Hell is in the Air, yet there is a Text which looketh fairly for the more received that 'tis **Subterranean**, namely that of *Job* 26. 5. Not indeed as our Translation (scarce intelligibly) renders it, *Dead things are formed from under the Waters, and the Inhabitants thereof*; but as the Original, הרפאים יחוללו מתחת מים ושכניהם The Rephaim or the *Giants do wail, sorrow or Groan under the* Waters, *and the Inhabitants of them.* The Giants are under the Waters.

Now it is as certain that the *Rephaim*

phaim or Giants (of whom we read in *Gen. 6.*) are in (the depths of) *Hell*, as that they here are said to be under the waters. For in Sacred Scripture, the Congregation of the Rephaim, or the Place of the Giants, is a Paraphrase *thereof*, so Prov. 21. 16. *The man that wanders out out of the way of Understanding, shall Remain*, we translate it [in the Congregation of the Dead] but to the letter, *in the Congregation of the Giants*, or in Hell; and Prov. 2. 18. *Her house inclineth unto Death, and her Paths unto the* Rephaim, or Giants, to Hell.

What other then is *Job's* meaning, than that the *Giants* are in *Hell* [They wail]? and consequently that Hell is Subterranean and Infernal, [They wail *under the waters*]? So that the *Tartarus* wherein these Monsters are, in his Opinion, is not that of *Hesiod*, who if *Plutarch* took him Right, did place it in the Air, but *Homer's* who makes it an Abysse or Gulf of Waters. I said if *Plutarch*

Apud Plut. in Phed.

tareh took him Right, for it may be doubted, since the Epithet of *Tartarus aereus* on which he bottoms that Perswasion, is as well in *Homer*, who thought not so, as in *Hesiod*. *Plut. de prim. frig.*

I am abundantly confirmed in the sense given, not only by what some Learned men have largely written on the Text, with whom you may consult at leisure, but especially from a Passage in the accurate *Pausanias*, which I could not but Remarque, when I read it. Τιτᾶνας δ' πρῶτος ἐς ποίησιν ἐνέγραψεν Ὅμηρος, θεοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ καλουμένῃ Ταρτάρῳ, &c. That *Homer was the* first *that sang that the* Titans or Giants *were* Gods (Inhabitants) *in that Place which is called* Tartarus *or Hell*. So plain a Comment this is on that of *Job*. The Giants groan from under the Waters, and the Inhabitants of them. The Giants are in Hell, and there groan, which that none ought to doubt to be the true meaning, there immediately follows, שאול *Hell is naked before him*. *Pausanias in Arcad.*

But

But this Hell is under the Waters, and so is *Homer*'s.

For my part, I am apt to think that Hell is of a *Vast Extent*, and that the bounds and limits of it, are not so strict and narrow, as the most imagine. It may not be confined within the *Air*, nor within a certain Cavity and Hollow under the *Earth*; Happily it is as large and comprehensive as the whole *Elementary world*; which that indeed it is, what already hath been urged about it upon the several Opinions, does in some degree Evince. And it may be Hell hereafter, will not be the same with that which now is Hell. But *secret things belong to God.*

This for the Place of Hell, and for the **Kind** and **Nature** of the Punishment which is therein; It doth not only consist in *Loss* and *Deprivation*, but also in *Pain* and *Exquisite Torments*. For this Reason it is called *Fire*, and the rather called so, because (that) Hell it self is styled in the Sacred Scri-

ptures

ptures [illegible], a word deriv'd from others in the Hebrew which signifie the Valley of *Hinnon*, a Place wherein the superstitious *Israelites*, with an Inhumanity that cannot be expressed, did offer up their Children in the Fire to *Moloch*.

Not that Infernal Fire is *Material* and Corporeal, or that it is a Proper, but (only) *Metaphorical Fire*. A Fire it is, but such an one as is prepared for the Devil, and for his Angels, which if it were Corporeal or Material, since Corporeal and Material Beings act not on Incorporeal, Immaterial Spirits, it could not be imagined to be. Again, as the *worm* that never dyes is Metaphorical and Figurative, so is the Fire that never goeth out. Besides, Hell is generally called *Tartarus*, and that as *Plutarch* tells us for the Coldness of it [*ex frigore Tartarus appellatus est.*] Not is this a Fancy only of Poets, or of some few Philosophers, 'tis Scripture, That in Hell is *weeping and wailing*

Plut. ubi sup.

wailing and Gnashing of teeth; and *Tuffuskion est algentem quassari & contremiscere*, to shake and gnash ones Teeth for cold. In *Plato's* Hell, which he describes in his *Phado*, there is both Fire and Water.

But though in Hell there be no Proper Fire, yet since the torments in it are frequently *compared* to Fire, and with the addition of Brimstone, it must needs consist (whatever some imagine) in some thing equally as *Dire*, as Insupportable, as Tormenting, and as Vexatious as that. Which that it does, we have not only *Plato's* Testimony, but (if we will believe him) the common sentiment of all the World to Evince and Prove it. *It is* (saith he) *a Common and Receiv'd Tradition that Infernal Torments are most Atrocious and Insupportable*; a Tradition so received in his time, that he most Pathetically inveighs against the Irreclaimable Obduraceness, and Obstinacy of men,

Plat. l. 9. de Leg.

men, whom that Consideration could not awe and terrifie: You may read it in his own terms in his Book of *Laws*.

Again, *Infernal Torments* are not only most Atrocious and severe, but *extended both to body and soul*. And it is so great Reason that the *Body* should as well suffer as the Soul, That some have thought it not unlikely, that the soul, as it did not sin but in the Body, so it doth not suffer but *with* it: *That* 'tis Soul and Body in conjunction that do make man, and it is *man*, not the Soul without the Body, not the Body without the Soul, but Soul and Body soder'd into one *Compositum* that sins, and that which sins must suffer. The Man sins and the man must suffer.

But I drive it not so far, for the Soul in state of Union to the Body, as it liveth in it, so it acteth by it; the Soul as so is *Actus corporis*, and is nothing but what relateth to the Body, and consequently all its Actions are Organical; yet since it

can be separated, and, though not as *Anima*, yet as *Ens* can subsist alone without the Body; It is in that Estate Responsible [and just it should] for what it did in the other. I say just it should; For the Soul it guides the Body, it governs it, and to use a comparison that hath had the Honour to have been a Philosophers, is to it as a *Rider to his Horse*; who though he goeth no where, but where the Horse carries him, and Acteth nothing but by it, yet since he governs the Horse, which goeth as Directed, no wonder if unhors'd and on his own legs, he suffer for the Trespasses he made his Horse to commit. He suffers on foot for what he did on Horseback.

Plat. in Phed. Philo de Agricult.

All I infer is, That 'tis highly Reasonable that the man who sinned *with* his Body, should suffer *in* it, as well as in his Soul; and that 'tis Just that they who were *together* in the Crime, should also be *conjoyn'd* in the Punishment, as indeed

deed they shall, *for we must all Appear before the Judgement seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his* Body, 2 *Cor.* 5. 10.

So much for the first Particular, that there are Eternal and Atrocious Punishments ordained to be inflicted in the other World both on Soul and Body, for the sins of Men committed in this. I am now in Prosecution of the Order I proposed to my self, to Evidence the **Second**; which is, *That there is not any Inequality in the Punishment ordained to the sin; but great Equality and Proportion.*

Which to effect with all imaginable Evidence and clearness, *I will* first *lay down a Truth acknowledged by all that know any thing* (viz.) *That every sin is committed against* God, *who not only is most Excellent Majesty, but also Infinitely Good unto the sinner himself, and consequently that 'tis Infinite in Aggravation. Then* [in the second place]

I will make it Evident and Undeniable, that that Infinite Aggravation which is in every sin, by Reason of its Object, is the Bottom, Ground, and Foundation, whereon the Perpetuity of its Punishment is Erected. Thirdly, *I will fully prove (to Obviate some exceptions which may lye before me) that though Infernal Punishments be all of them Perpetual, and consequently Infinite protensively and in duration, yet that Intrinsecally and Subjectively they are but* Finite. *And when I have acquitted me of what I promise you on these points, then in the* fourth place, *I shall lay before your eyes, in a full and more express delineation, the great Equality and Proportion between the Sin and Punishment; which I will abundantly confirm by many more considerations I shall add.*

And for the **first**, *That every Sin is committed against* **God**, *who not only is most Excellent Majesty, but also* **Infinitely Good**, *and to the*

sinner

sinner himself, cannot be denyed by one that Understands the Nature of sin. *Against thee*, the Royal Psalmist saith, *thee only have I sinned*. The Wrong and Injury may be against man, as that of *David* was against *Uriah*, but the *Sinfulness* therein is only against God. There is in every sin a *Transgression*; [Their *Transgressions in all their sins*] or a Breach and Violation of the Law of God, and in this the sinfulness of sin consists. This importing in it Inexcusable ἀναπολογία and contempt of God. Such is the Nature, and such the Object of Sin.

Psal. 51. 4.

Lev 16.16. Deut.17.2.

Now the *Moral Evil* is in any Action *receives an* Aggravation *from the Object (of it,) and that Relation the Offender stands in towards that*; for instance, what is but Assault and Battery upon an Ordinary Man, is Treason on the Prince: To strike ones Soveraign is a Capital and hainous Crime, Unexpiable but by the Blood of him that does offend in that kind, when yet

to give a Private Person a Blow, is not so. So *Aristotle*; ὃς ἂν ἀρχοντα ἐπάταξῃ, οὐ πληγὴν μόνον δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κολασθῆναι. *If any be so Hardy as to strike a Magistrate, he ought not only to have Blow for Blow, but to be severely Punish't.* Thus the Philosopher; and it was one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, *Re, Persona, Tempore, Loco Atrociores injuriæ judicantor, That Injuries were to be esteemed to receive Aggravations by the* **Person** *offended*, so *Labeo* interprets it, **Persona** *atrocior injuria fit, cum Magistratui, cum Parenti, Patronóve fiat. The Injury is rendred more Atrocious by the* Person, *when it is done to a* Magistrate, a Parent, or a Patron.

Arist. de Mor. l. 5. c. 8

Labeo apud Oldendorp. in leg. 12. Tabul. tit. 11.

And granting This, Then *How immense and infinite an* **aggravation** *must we of force Acknowledge in all sin*, when we consider in it that *Contempt*, Scorn and Parvipension of **God**, which does compose it? That it is against a Majesty so Excellent, and High, against the King of Kings, the

the Lord of Lords: against the Heavenly Father, the Great Creator, the Great Benefactor, him from whom the sinner hath Receiv'd his own Being, and all the Goods, Comforts and Advantages of it.

Most certain it is, that those considerations in inferiour Objects, which scatter'd and dispersed, do render Actions under greatest Guilt and aggravation, are all *Concentred* to aggravate what ever Action man is guilty of against God. For if it be an Aggravation of the Crime among men, for the Subject to Affront his *King*, for the Child his *Father*, for the Vassal his *Lord*, for the Obliged his *Benefactor*, God is King, is Father, is Lord or Owner, is Benefactor, *&c.* and the Sinner is his Subject, his Child, his Own, his Obliged.

Yes, and all the Aggravations Reflected on the faulty Action by this Transcendent Object, are as much *Superiour* to those deriv'd from any other, *as those Considerations*

which in God are aggravating, do *transcend the same that are so in man*. As much as God himself in Excellency is above Man, This King above all other Kings, the Heavenly Father above an Earthly, this Soveraign Benefactor above Inferiour Benefactors, of so much greater Guilt and aggravation in all respects, is a crime against the former, than it can be against the latter. The Degree of Aggravation bears Proportion to the Excellency which Effects it.

This the Antient *Romans* had some understanding of, and therefore to Protect Persons invested with (the Soveraign) Power and Authority, from all Affronts, they were wont to style them *Sacred*, to the End that by consideration of the Name and Character of God upon them, Subjects Apprehending so much more Horror in the Crime, might be scared from Attempting what otherwise perhaps (without it) they would have soon presum'd to do. So

Flocum,

Flocem, Romanis Legibus cautum est (saith he) *ut omnes Potestatem habentes, quò plus apud eos majestatis esset*, Sacrosancti *appellarentur, ut si quis quempiam in magistratu violasset* Religio *judicaretur.* Flor. Is Praefat. ad lib. de potest. Rom.

By this time I make no question but a small *Objection* which hath ministred but too much matter of Perplexity to some, will offer none to you, namely, that *it will not follow that Sin is therefore Infinite, because against an Infinite God, no more than that it is Good, and Just, and Holy, and Omnipresent and the like, because against a Good, a Just, an Holy and Omnipresent God.* For you see I argue not the Infinity of the sin, barely from that Infinity which is in God, so as if this Attribute in him did *Physically* (as some would speak) and Naturally imprint its like upon the sanlty Action; no, this Infinity in sin is not a Natural Infinity, but a *Moral*, not Infinity of Being, but of *Guilt and Aggravation*, and consequently, such an one,

as cannot be derived but from such Considerations [Moral] as are able to Reflect it. It is not deriv'd *Physically*, but *Morally*. I doubt not but you comprehend my meaning, *that Sin is not to be affirmed Infinite, meerly because it has an Infinite and Transcendent Being for its Object*, For this the mentioned Objection fully evidences, but *because there are Perfections in the Divine Nature, such as Goodness, Greatness and the like, that are of a Quality to Greaten the Offence*, and Fault against them; which Perfections being *Infinite*, do make the Aggravations they Reflect upon the crime or sin Proportionable. For it is a manifest, a Plain and an Infallible consequence, that if a crime against obliging Goodness, or the like Consideration (for what is instanced in One will hold in All) be great; and against a greater Goodness, it be a greater crime; then a crime against an Infinite and inconceivable Goodness, must needs be a crime of Infinite and inconceivable Guilt?

Guilt: *Ut se habet simpliciter ad simpliciter, ita magis ad magis, & maximè ad maximè.*

Hence it follows, that *no sin is small.* For not to stand on this Subtilty, that there is a kind of *Boundlesness* and of Infinity in Sin, Sin being in its very Nature a transgression or *Excess* of Bounds, the Law it setteth bounds and limits unto mens Affections, but sin transgresseth them. I say, not to stand on that Consideration, the Conclusion Evidently follows from what I have already offer'd. For if every Sin be Transgression, and essentially imply a Violation of the Law of God, a Preferring of Our Unruly, Profane, Unrighteous, Evil Wills before His, which is Holy, Just and Good, and consequently, be an offering of Indignity, and (as it were) affront to Him, it is easie to inferr, that None is small, since to violate the Divine Authority and Pleasure, and to despise it and contemn it for our Own, cannot be imagin'd so.

I the

I the rather do Enforce this great, Truth, because I know many Atheistically inclined, who deride the Doctrine of the Fall of man occasion'd by the eating of an *Apple*, as a senseless and absurd conceit. It cannot penetrate their Understandings, that a Wise, and Just, and Good God should conceive so great Anger and Indignation for so small and poor a thing; that He should expose the First man, and all Descendants from him, to the danger of Eternal Ruine, for no more than eating an Apple. And what is an Apple to be compared with Mankind, and with all its comforts! In the day thou eatest, thou shalt dye the death, looketh better like one of *Draco's Laws*, which for their Inhumanity, were noted to be written in Blood, than like a Sanction of Gods.

Dymad. apud Plutarch. in Solon.

And indeed an Apple is no great matter, nor is the eating of it in it self a Greater; But then it is no small matter neither to offer an Affront to God

God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, to scorn and contemn most Excellent Majesty, to oppose his Will, to break his Bands asunder, and cast away his Cords, which *Adam* did in eating. And what is offer'd by the Atheist in order to extenuate and abate the Guilt, doth extreamly aggravate and heighten it, that he would break with God for (but) an Apple, as one resolved to deny himself in nothing, to keep in with God, and Please Him who is his Maker and Soveraign. Verily He that will break for an Apple, will break for any thing. Without doubt, It was an Ample *Demonstration* of the Infinite Benignity and Goodness of God, that He did not choose a greater matter to exercise the Vertue and Obedience of the First Man in, who might very well have forborn the Apples of but One Tree, when he had so many Others bountifully Accorded to him, to Oblige and gratifie him. Indeed had God Requir'd Proof of Mans Obedience

dience in a matter absolutely necessary to his Comfort or Delight, it might have minister'd some colour of Excuse for his Failure. But now there is None. 'Twas but an Apple, no more that God denyed him, and would he run the hazard of Divine Displeasure, and Expose his own Eternal Happiness for *That?* What Pretext can there be for a Plea, that he would be faithful in greater matters, that broke his Faith for so small a One? Some find the Breach of all the Commandments in This. Verily, That *Adam* disobliged God for an Apple, it argues the greater *contempt* of God, and the greater *Injustice* in *Adam*. For this I appeal to *Aristotle*, who speaks home to All I have said. Ἀδικήματα δ μείζονα ἔστι ἀπὸ μείζονος ἢ ἀδικίας· διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, μέγιστα. οἷον ὁ Μιλήσιος Καλλίστου κατέγνω, ὅτι παρεγράψατο τρία ἡμιωβόλια περὶ τοῦ ἱερείου ——*Those Injuries are greater which proceed from a* greater Injustice; *on which consideration, the least things done,*

Rhet. l. 1. c. 15.

may

may be the greatest wrongs. *So* Callistratus *accused* Melanopus, *that he had defrauded the Maker of Shrines of* Three Half-pence, *&c.*

But to Return. This Sin *Objectively* is Infinite, and it is on *this Infinity of Guilt and aggravation which is in Sin by reason of its Object, that the Perpetuity of its Punishment, or to use your own expression, the Infinity thereof is grounded, which is the* **Second** *thing to be Proved.*

And the *first* Consideration to Evince it (which I shall insist upon again hereafter, when I more expressly shew the Proportion and Equality between the Sin and Punishment) is, that there is nothing else in the Punishment of meerly Finite Beings, but the Perpetuity or Infinity of its Duration, that can answer that Infinity and Vastness of Guilt and Aggravation which is in the Sin, by Reason of that Infinite Goodness and Transcendent Majesty, that is the Butt and Object of it.

Nothing

Nothing in the Punishment but its Infinite Duration answers the Infinity of the Guilt and Aggravation in the Sin.

But beside this main consideration, there is *another* that Establishes it, namely, that Eternal Death or Perpetuity of Punishment, is threatned unto sin as sin [every sin] and therefore must be bottomed on something is in sin as sin [in every sin] which what it should be is unimaginable other than the Aggravation it receiveth from the Object; which if you suppose it but to be, then will all things be adjusted, and (as I shall evidently shew hereafter on the fourth Head) will all lye Even and Square.

Nor is it a Bar unto the Truth alledged and Pleaded for; but rather a Confirmation, that the *Punishment* which Jesus Christ sustained in behalf of all that will receive him, who suffering in their stead, is understood to bear what they should, was in its utmost Duration and Extent

tent but *short* and momentany: For as much as it is evident, that the Punishment in Him receiv'd the same Infinity, or Reputation from the *Subject*, he being GOD-MAN, that the sin of man Receiv'd from the *Object*, which was GOD. For if in the One, God was sinn'd against, in the Other, God suffered; the Blood of Christ was the Blood of God. The Sin was Infinite, it was committed against an Infinite God; the Punishment was infinite, it was suffer'd by an Infinite Person. Not that Christ suffer'd as he was God, God as God cannot suffer, but he who was God, suffer'd. Passions, as Actions are of Persons or Supposites; and as the Infinity of the Object made the Sin Infinite in Aggravation; So the Infinity of the Subject suffering, made the Punishment so in Value and Reputation. Thus Christ suffering for us, suffered but a moment, though we, had we suffered for our selves, were to suffer to Eternity.

So

So congruous it is, and so agreeable that the Perpetuity of infernal Punishment should be bottom'd on the aggravation which the sin receiveth from its object: but yet as evident a Truth, and as Perspicuous as it seemeth, *Many* there are who cannot Acquiesce and rest contented with it, Who think themselves obliged to Account for this Article, in a very different way and manner from that so lately proposed.

They tell us, that men are therefore Infinitely Punished, or as some express it, Punished *in Gods Eternity*, because they sin in their *own*, they sin as long as they live, and therefore suffer for it, as long as God Lives. Of which Assertion there are *two* senses, of which I must acknowledge that they seem tolerable, and to bear some Weight, (for in the *third* it is a Jingle, most unworthy of the Gravity and Judgement of the men that use it.) The *first* is, That the Damned should they live for ever here, they would

sin

sin for ever; and so are Punisht not for what they have done, but what they would do. The *Second*, that in Hell they never leave sinning, and that therefore God will never leave Punishing.

Truth is, it were all one to me and my design, which is to evidence the Perpetuity of Infernal Torments, to have it bottomed on either *these* considerations (one or both) if I thought them able to support the weight of it; or on the *former* I have laid. But not having that Opinion of their great sufficiency and strength some others have, and knowing that a weak and ruinous foundation, most times betrayes the Fabrick; I am unwilling a Doctrine of so much concernment and importance unto all mankind, and to all Religion, should be oblig'd to stand or fall with them. Wherefore, that for the future none may build upon them, I shall bestow a little of my time, and exercise a little of your patience

to shew their Weakness.

For the *first* then, *that the Damned would sin for ever if they lived for ever here, and that therefore they are Punished for ever.* I say it seemeth not an Account that can be owned with any safety to the honour of *Divine Justice*, seeing to those that weigh things, and that know That only to be Just which is Equal, it appears not so Consistent with *it*, that the Punishment should be Actual, Real, Effectual, when the Sin for which it is inflicted, is only Possible, Hypothetical, and on Supposition (only.) That which would be, never was in Act, and it seemeth very hard, and most unworthy Infinite and Soveraign Righteousness and Justice, That there should be Punishment inflicted actually, for sin that never was (in Act.) Non-entities have no Prædicates, and can do Nothing, if the Sin never was, it can merit no Punishment. 'Tis true the *Intention* of evil is sometimes Punisht, where there is no

evil

evil Effect, but then the Intention is the Crime. In all I have said, I suppose the Objection to proceed of the *Event*, and not of the *Design*, that the Damned would for ever sin, if they liv'd for ever; not that they Actually and explicitly *resolv'd* to sin for ever. (For) this case is rare, if possible. In this the *malice* of the Will would be Infinite, and so he that had an Actual Will or Resolve to sin for ever, if he could, would deserve for that to be punished for ever. The *will* which is the Cardinal and Grand Principle of what is Moral in an Action, might justly pass for the Deed. But of all the Damned few, if any, can be conceiv'd to have such Resolves and Intentions.

Nor is the *second* Opinion, *That the Damned are subject to Eternal Punishment in Hell, because they sin there Eternally*,] of more Importance than the former. For though the Damned sin *materially*, and perpetrate in Hell the same Actions

(some of them) which they did on Earth, and for which they suffer in Hell, yet 'tis a great Question, whether they may rationally be affirmed *formally* to sin there, since there is no **Law** there: Hell is no part of Gods Kingdom, those in it, are not *subjects*, but condemned Rebels; and there is no Transgression, and consequently no Sin, where there is no Law.

Nor in their doing Actions which in themselves were sinful formerly, and which perhaps are still so. in Others, an Argument they sin now in it. For as the *Beasts* that are not under Law, though they do the same Actions that men do, yet do not sin in doing them as men sin, so the Damned that do the same Actions, yet being now *Exiled* and Banished by God from under his Protection, and from his Kingdom, into **OUTER** Darkness, and consequently, are no longer under the Law of his Kingdom, they do not sin in what they do, but suffer

for

for what they sinn'd. Hell is not a Place of Sinning, but of Punishing. Their Sin there is their Punishment.

Again, a Person once condemn'd to dye for Treason, cannot in our Law, be Judicially called in question for any subsequent Act, because he is *Civiliter mortuus*; His former Attainder of Treason is the highest and last work of the Law, in the eye of which he is Dead, after that, and so unable to commit offences. And why, after Sentence pronounced by Divine Justice on the Guilty Sinner, may not he be looked on as Dead in Gods Law, and as uncapable of doing any thing against it more? Is not the State of Hell in Scripture call'd the *Second Death*?

But to Destroy the *both Opinions* at Once, with one Argument; Eternal Death is threatned unto men for sin in this life, and the sentence of it is Pronounced on the Damn'd for this; *Depart from me you cursed into Everlasting Fire*; and why? for

for I was *an hungred, and you* gave *me no meat ; I* was *a thirst, and you* gave *me no Drink ; I* was *a stranger, and you* took *me not in ; Naked, and you* cloathed *me not ; Sick, and in Prison, and you* visited *me not ;* Therefore *Depart from me, you Cursed, into* Everlasting Fire. Now, if Eternal Death be threatned unto men for sin in this Life, and the Sentence of it be pronounced upon them for what they have committed here ; it cannot Rationally be presumed, that the Everlastingness of the Punishment should not be founded on some thing in the sin *already* acted in the present world, but only either on the Hypothetical Perpetuation of it in this, or on a Fancied Continuation and Persistance in it Hereafter in the Other.

And having said thus much, you cannot doubt of my sense of what the Learned *Parker* further offers out of the Schoolmen, in his Treatise *de Descensu*, which because it is a Learned Passage, and one, that by Re-

Representing the Variety of Opinions about the thing whereon I now discourse, will also represent the Difficulty of deciding in it, I shall give you entirely.——*Atqui nostrum, quod in medio, tutissimum iter est: Christum nempe, &c.*——"But "our Opinion lyes in the middle in "which it is most safe to go, namely "that Christ endured the *very Pains* "of Hell as to their *Substance*, "which were due to us, and yet "avoided their *Eternity*. To make "this clear, We *Deny that Infer-* "*nal Eternal Pain is absolutely due* "*to All Sins*; and withal, with the "Schoolmen, particularly with *Jo-* "*hannes Scotus*, and with *Johannes* "*Picus* C. of *Mirandula* affirm, "that some Distinction must be "made in this matter. There are "*Three* things then that ought to "be considered by us in sin: The first "is the *Aversion* that is in it from "God; and to this the Pain of *Loss* "which is Infinite is due, forasmuch "as it is the Amission of an Infi-

Park. de Defc. lib. 4.

"nite Good. The second is a *Con-*
"*version* to what is Perishing and
"Transient, and to this the pain of
"*sense* is Due, which is Intensively
"Finite, Agreeably as that delight
"and pleasure the sinner takes there-
"in is Finite. But thirdly, there
"is to be considered also in sin, ei-
"ther the *Continuation* and Persist-
"ance (of the sinner) in it, or his
"*Cessation* from it. It is only
"with the *first* of these that *Eter-*
"*nity* of Pain doth hold proporti-
"on. The *second* is adjusted by a
"but *Temporal* enduring of the Pain.
"It is Objected that every sinner
"sins in his Eternity (as *Gregory*
"speaks) forasmuch as he hath cast
"himself upon a necessity of sin-
"ing, from which he cannot possi-
"bly be Restrained by any endea-
"vours of his own: This indeed is
"true, and therefore the Eternity
"of Punishment doth naturally fol-
"low their sin; But yet this hin-
"ders not but that if sin be super-
"naturally *interrupted*, by Re-
"pentance,

"pentance, in that case *Extremity* "only, and not Eternity of Punish- "ment should be the Due; as "which answers the greatness of "the sin but finitely committed; "And this is that which *Scotus* con- "tends for, and which the Count of "*Mirandula* demonstrates at large, "namely, that to sin continued to "Eternity both in the Guilt and "Filth, Eternal Punishment is due; "but that it is into wise necessary, "nor exacted by Divine Justice; "that Eternal Punishment should be "inflicted for sins, that are not con- "tinued to Eternity, but abandoned "by Repentance. Now things be- "ing so, 'tis easie for Every Body to "discern how *Jesus Christ* endured "the *Pain* of Hell, without the *E-* "*ternity*; especially, That being re- "membred which we said before, "That He sustained not the Infernal "Pains of those **actually Damned**, "but only of those that **were to be** "so. [*Non Damnatorum pœnam* "*gehennalem sustinuisse, sed Dam-* "*nandorum*

"*nandorum tantum.*] Verily the "Use of this *Distinction* here is very great, since those that are Actually *Damned* sin far otherwise than "the *Elect* that were to be so: So "that Eternal Torment is in Justice "due to Them, but to these *Extream* "Torment (indeed) is, but not "Eternal. This is clear in a *simile*. "*Imprisonment* is no part of the "Debt, but is Justly due to him "that abides in Debt. And thus it "is in the Elect and Reprobate, of "which the former paying the "Debt in Jesus Christ, and (renewed by the Holy Spirit) ceasing from "sin are freed from that Eternal "Prison of Hell, in which the "*Damned are Tormented for ever*, "*because they are for ever in Debt*, "*and abide for ever Polluted with* "the Filth, and with the Guilt of "Sin. The Case then is thus, "Christ suffered only for the *Elect*, "who were to be Damned, to "whose sins ceasing by Repentance, "not Eternity, but Only Extremity

"of

"of Punishment was due. So that "Justice Requir'd not that Christ "should Endure the Eternity, but "only the Extremity of the Tor-"ments of Hell.

This is the Notion of the Learned *Parker*, which yet I must acknowledge I cannot Entertain a thought of but with Repugnance; for to me it seemeth very Harsh, if not directly contrary to Sacred Scripture, That Death Eternal should not be the Due of every sin; For though indeed Perpetual Torments are not inflicted on every sinner, and for every sin, yet they are deserved and merited by every sin, and due to every sinner. The wages of sin is **Death**; Death Eternal, for it is opposed to Eternal Life. And if Almighty God be pleased to forgive and Pardon upon Repentance, it is his Free-Grace, and not his Justice but in respect of that well-order'd and Immutable *Covenant*, wherein he has oblig'd and ty'd himself to do so; so indeed, he is faithful to forgive.

Nor

Nor is Hell a Sheriffs Ward in which the Debtor is Imprisoned till he pay his Debt: For Imprisonment on Account of Debt is not so intended as a Punishment upon the Debtor, for not having paid, as to be in *lieu of Payment*, and satisfaction of the Debt: But 'tis ordain'd to Necessitate him, and to compell him to Pay it. Whereas all Infernal Torments are truly *Penal*, Design'd for satisfaction to the Law and Justice, and *Not* by way of compulsion, to make the Prisoner pay a Debt, which, when he is in Hell, it is impossible for him to Do, since that Design were Irrational. In vain are those means which are Referred to Ends that they can never compass, Nor can it consist with Wisdom to Institute such. The Punishments of Hell are *Debts*; Nor are there any Other which they are ordained to constrain the Prisoner to pay. If the Scripture speak of lying in Prison, till men Pay the Utmost Farthing, it must be Understood

of

of the Eternal Punishment to be Undergone (in Hell.) This is the Only Debt there to be paid, of which no Abatement can be had. It is expected to the Utmost Farthing, and this is all that that Phrase imports.

Thus you see I differ both from this and other Excellent and Learned Persons, and why I do (so) about the *Ground* on which the Perpetuity of Infernal Punishment is rais'd; I say the *Perpetuity*, for though I have acknowledged Infernal Punishments to be Perpetual, yet I cannot easily be brought to own them to be Infinite, but with Distinction; *they are not Infinite in Essence or Being, but only in Duration or Continuance, and consequently are not to be called Infinite in any sense, but because they are Endless.*

For questionless the Torments which the Damned suffer in Hell, are intrinsecally and subjectively *Finite*, and as Finite as the sins themselves intrinsecally and subjectively

are,

are, for which they be Inflicted. For since all Reception is according to the Measure and Capacity of what Receives, the Torment, Pain, or Punishment inflicted on a Finite Creature, and received by it, neither is intrinsecally, and subjectively Infinite, nor indeed can possibly be. So that if the sin subjectively and intrinsecally be Finite, the Punishment ordained is not subjectively and intrinsecally Infinite: which was the **third** thing to be proved.

And this Re-minds me of the **fourth** thing I promised, namely, *to Represent expresly the Proportion between the Sin of man and the Punishment of it.* And this **Proportion** is manifest. For if the Sin of Man subjectively be Finite, and Unequal as well as Finite, the Punishment of that sin subjectively is also Finite, and Unequal as well as Finite; there are Degrees of Torments in Hell, as there are Degrees of Guilt in sin; and if the Punishment be Infinite Protensively and in

Du-

Duration, it is because the sin is so Objectively and in *Aggravation*: And *Infinite objective Aggravation* (for such is that of sin, as we have formerly evidenced it) cannot be Proportion'd in the Punishment of a meerly Finite Being, but by its *infinite Duration* and Extent. Once the sin is *some way* Infinite, but the Punishment of a meerly Finite Being, neither is, nor can be *any wise* so but in Duration. Wherefore the Punishment would be Unequal to the sin, if as this is Infinite in Aggravation, that were not also so in Duration. But this I hinted before.

And now Sir, upon the whole you will be pleas'd to Judge what Inequality there is, or what Unjustice, or rather what great Equality and Justice in Divine Proceeding, wherein you cannot but receive abundant satisfaction, as to the Equity and Righteousness thereof, if to what Considerations have already been

been presented you concerning it; you but add the following.

First, That the Proportion which is observed in Distributive (or as *Aristotle* calls it, Diametric) Justice, is not Arithmetical, but Geometrical; or (as they love to speak) the *medium* it observeth, is not *medium rei*, but *Personæ*, that is, that Persons are as much consider'd in the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments, as things themselves. Yea and more.

Secondly, That in Proportioning of Punishments, to make them Just and Equal, it is not Requisite that their Duration should exactly be adjusted unto that of the sin's. A short and momentany sin, if aggravated in the circumstances, may in great Justice have allotted to it long and tedious Punishment. A Truth so obvious, that were it not Unnecessary, I might abundantly enlarge in instancing it; and I would have offer'd somewhat of mine own in

that

that kind, but that the grave St. *Austine*, from whom I make no question but you will take it better, hath happily prevented me. He tells us, "Some of the Adversaries of Gods "City hold it Injustice for him that "hath offended, but *temporally*, to be "bound to suffer pain *Eternally*, this "they say is utterly Unjust. As "though they knew any Law that "adapted the *time* of the Punish-"ment to the time in which the "Crime was committed. *Eight* "kinds of Punishments doth *Tully* "affirm the Laws to inflict: Da-"mages, Imprisonment, Whipping, "Like for Like, Publick Disgrace, "Banishment, Death and Bondage. "Which of these can be performed "in so little a time as the offence is, "excepting the *fourth*, which yield-"eth every man the same measure "that he meteth unto Others, ac-"cording to that of the Law, *An* "*Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a* "*Tooth?* Indeed one may lose his "eye by this Law, in as small a time

Aug. de Civit. l. 21. c. 11.

"as he put out another mans by vi-
"olence. But if a man kiss another
"mans Wife, and be therefore ad-
"judged to be *whipt*, is not that
"which he did in a moment paid
"for by a good deal longer suffe-
"rance? Is not his short pleasure
"paid with a longer pain? And
"what for *Imprisonment?* Is every
"one judged to lye there no longer
"than he was a doing his Villany?
"Nay, that Servant who hath but
"violently *touched* his Master, is by
"a Just Law doomed unto *many*
"*years* Imprisonment. And as for
"*Damages*, Disgraces are not many
"of them *dateless*, and lasting a
"mans whole life, wherein they
"bear a *Proportion* with the pains
"Eternal. Thus the Father.

Further, I propose it to the seri-
ous consideration of Intelligent and
Prudent men, if that Punishment,
how great, how long soever, be too
great, or too long, which for all its
greatness and for all its length, is
Unsufficient in the threatning of it

to

to deterr from the sin; it is the *End* that Measures and Proportions all the *Means* that lead to it; and the sole Intention, Design and End of God in menacing and threatning Punishment, is to Deterr and fright from sin. If the End be considerable enough, the Punishment threatned can never be too great. *Besides*, it argues *great malice*, when great Threatnings can't deterr. However, It becomes God to threaten, and punish too as a God; Sin is Indignity, and Gods Anger is *his* Defence; if mortal men kill the Body Temporally in their Anger, it is *like* the Immortal God, to Damn the Soul Eternally in his.

In fine, What if in an Age wherein Hypotheses are taking, I should offer this, (which yet, what I have proposed already, evinces to be more than so) that perhaps the Constitution of the other World may require, that what ever state is in it be Perpetual, as the Make of this requires, that all things in it

should be Otherwise, and consequently, that 'tis as agreeable and natural, that all Punishments as well as all Rewards, should be Eternal in the Future Life, as that all in this should be Temporal. But when I say it may be as agreeable, and as natural, that all Punishments in the other Life should be Eternal, as that all Rewards, I would not have you to conceive I think that to be a *Demonstration*, which is generally current, and passeth with the most for One, namely, *That because the Rewards of Heaven are Eternal*, therefore *the Punishments of Hell are also so*. I acknowledge that it will not follow. For to do Good (for so it is to *Reward*, or to Remunerate) it carries in it more Agreeablesss, and more Congruity to the Divine Essence, and is an Emanation from it more Connatural, and consequently more Free, than to Punish is, or to inflict Evil; This being call'd his *strange* work, which that is not. It is for this Reason, that

that God is so much more Benign and Liberal (as the Holy Scriptures plainly shew us) in Assigning Large Rewards, than He is Severe and Rigorous in Ordaining Dreadful Punishments; For if (as he is said to do in the second Command) *He visit the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, unto* the third and fourth Generation *of them that Hate him*; *He sheweth Mercy* to the thousandth *of them that Love Him.* So wide a Difference there is! The Allotment both of Rewards and Punishments depends on the Divine Will; and Ἐπιείκεια or Lenity, Moderation, Propensity to Favour is the Natural Vertue of the Will.

And thus much by way of Demonstration of this Great Truth, that there is no Inequality, or Improportion in the Punishments Ordained (though Endless) to crimes or sins, but great Equality and Proportion; and that the Soveraign Rector was neither Arbitrarious and Wilful, nor Unjust, but both Wise

and Righteous in assigning them. What I am next engaged to Perform, *is to evince him* God *therein as well as Just, and, that in ordaining and threatning Endless and Eternal Punishments to sin, he has as much Consideration of the Humane Interest and Concern, as of his Own.*

But before I may Proceed to argue and Evince this Verity, it will be necessary for a clearer and fuller stating of it, to distinguish between the *threatning* of Eternal Punishments, and the *inflicting* of them. Which I note here, because I hold my self obliged but to demonstrate *now*, that there is Goodness in ordaining and in threatning of Eternal Punishments, as *hereafter* I shall prove, that there is great Justice, and no want of Goodness in the inflicting on laying them on, and those who merit them.

And who can question the Goodness and Benignity of God appointing and threatning unto men Eternal

nal Punishments, if he seriously consider that his doing so was absolutely *necessary* for the whole World to Regulate it, and to keep it in order, by *awing* mens minds, and by repressing their exorbitant and wild Emotions, and consequently, by preparing and qualifying of them for Instruction in, and for Performance of the common Offices and Duties of the humane life, as well as of the divine? *The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom*, saith *Solomon*. *Knowing the Terror of the Lord, we Perswade men*, saith the Apostle. *Plato* in his Politicks makes the Establishment of Punishments in another Life fundamental to Government in this. And even Mr. *Hobbs* acknowledges, that *the Punishment instituted before sin, serveth to the Benefit of mankind, because it keepeth men in peaceable and vertuous conversation by the Terror*; and *Pythagoras* knew as much, for he so pressed this consideration of a Judgement and Wrath to come, in order

Plat. de rep. l. 2.
Plat. in Protag.
Hobbs de corp. polit. part. 2. c. 9.

to the *restraining* men from Vice, and to the inciting of them to Vertue, that he is celebrated for it by *Iamblicus*, as Author of the Doctrine. καὶ ἄλλου τῆς μεθόδου ἀνεύρετῆ ἀναπλάσσων τοῦ ἀπόρρητου ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας διὰ τῆς κόλασιν τῆς ψυχῶν — *And he* (speaking of *Pythagoras*) *invented another way and method of Reclaiming men* from Injustice, *which was* to threaten *them with Future* Judgement *to be passed on Souls.* οἰόμενος τῆς ἐν χρόνῳ ἄπειρον ὄντων εἰς τὸ φόβον τῆς ἀδικίας — *He understanding it of Infinite Advantage, to strike fear of Wrong and Injustice,* &c. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη παρεῖναι ἵνα μὴ ἁμαρτάνωσιν. And this saith *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *is a* Gracious Method *to strike men* with fear and terror, *that they may not sin.*

Iambl. in vit. Pythag. c. 30.

Clem. Alex. in Pedag. l. 1. c. 8.

Now, no scruple can be made of *This*, that to design the Present and the Future happiness of man, is a worthy and adorable effect of infinite and transcendent Goodness, and if the *End* be so, how can the most agreeable

agreeable and proper means to compass and effect it, be the contrary! It is the Goodness of the End that makes the means Good. Certainly, we ought to hold belief, that God hath very much obliged and engaged us, by dealing with us in a way so congruous, as that of menacing and threatning is; nor are we able to defend our selves against so Good, so Pious a Resentment, if we soberly consider (this) That he *that threatneth, plainly shews he hath no mind to inflict*; and that Threatnings are *fore-warnings* of Evil, designed and intended to this very End, that those to whom they are made, may timely shun and avoid it. So *John*, *O you Generation of Vipers, who* [by menacing you with it] *hath* fore-warn'd *you to flee from the wrath to come?* Questionless he cannot but be Good in threatning evil, who threatens it for that Reason, that he may not be enforced to inflict it. This was the sense of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, Matth. 3.7.

Clem. Paeda. l. 1. c. 8.

andria, Ὁ δὲ ἀπειλῶν δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν βούλεσθαι κολάζειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀπειλεῖν ποιεῖν ὃ ἀπειλεῖ ——— *It is* manifest *that who so* threatens *Evil*, has no mind to inflict *it*, *nor is he willing to do what he threatens.*

But **Why** *Eternal Punishments?* (will you say) I *answer*, That besides the Justice of it, the menacing of Infernal Punishments (the lusts of men are so Exorbitant and high) is *not sufficient* to subdue and quench them; there must Eternity be added to Extremity in the Torments, to make the threatning of them an effectual means to reclaim men; and when that is done too, all is little enough; there are millions in the world whom not that consideration, as tremendous and as Direful as indeed it is, is able to deterr and fright from their Vices. If the threatning of Eternal Torments can effect no more, how much I pray you would the threatnings of shorter ones effect! Future things are distant and remote, and what are so, do

do seldome influence. Great Punishments in another World would awe but little, if they were not also Perpetual, it is the Eternity that adds so much to the weight; and the weight of the torments, that makes them over-balance, when they are compared with the sin. *Purgatory* is not half as scaring as Hell. The *Emphasis* of the Punishment is as much upon the Duration, as upon the kind of it. *Go you*, sayes Christ, not εἰς τὸ πῦρ, αἰώνιον, but εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, not barely into Everlasting Fire, but *into the Fire, the* Everlasting Fire, the *Emphasis* is on the Everlastingness of it.

So Advantagious is the threatning of Eternal Torments, and so useful to the World, that the Soveraign Rector in taking that method, has not only given Abundant Proof of his Wisdom and Prudence, but also of as much Benignity and Kindness. A Truth of which the *Antient Heathen* had a Glimpse, and therefore they call'd the *Furies* (who

(who are the Executioners of Divine Revenge in the other World) *EUMENIDES*; not (as most too frigidly and poorly have conceited) by reason of their Imbenignity, Inexorableness and Inclemency, but for that (by the Punishments which they are talkt of to inflict upon the Wicked) they happily occasion very much Good, Benefit and Advantage unto Mankind. For so I understand *Phornutus*, *Revera*, saith he, speaking of the Furies, *sunt & Hæ Deæ veneranda*, & Eumenides, *eò quod* Naturæ Benignitatem *ad homines dirigunt*, vindicando *scelera*.

Phornut. de Nat. Deor.

From what I have presented you on this Head, it is not Difficult to Conclude what sense one ought to have of Mr. **Hobb's Notion of Hell**, and of the Texts that concern it. "He tells us, that the Texts that "mention *Eternal Fire*, Eternal "*Judgement*, or the Worm that ne-"ver dyeth, contradict not the Do-"ctrine of the Second and Everlast-"ing

Hobbs Leviat. par. 4. c. 45.

"ing *Death*, in the *Proper* and Na-
"tural sense of the Word Death.
"The Fire and Torment prepared
"for the Wicked in *Geenna*, *Tophet*,
"or what place so ever, may conti-
"tinue for ever, and there may ne-
"ver want men to be tormented in
"them, though not *every One*, not
"*any One Eternally*; For the Wick-
"ed being left in the *State* they are
"in after *Adams* sin, may at the
"Resurrection *live as* they did,
"Marry and give in *Marriage*, and
"have Gross and Corruptible Bo-
"dies, *as all mankind now* have,
"and consequently may Ingender
"Perpetually after the Resurrecti-
"on, *&c.*

Now, not to mention the Confu-
sion and Perplexity in this Notion,
what will Mr. *Hobbs* make of that
Description the Evangelist gives of
Hell, wherein the Torments of it are
painted out so Dreadfully by Fire
and Brimstone, by a never Dying
Worm, *&c.* Is it but a solemn piece
of *Mockery*, a Bugbear, a *Mormo*
that

that can only fright thoſe weaker Apprehenſions that do not throughly underſtand and ſee it? Hell to thoſe that know it; for all this Tragical Deſcription of it in the Goſpel, is a *Paradiſe* of Pleaſure, ſuch a Place as all the Wicked would elect and *choſe* for their Heaven, a Place of Eating and Drinking, of Marrying and giving in Marriage, and why not of Quaffing, Carouſing and making merry? In a word, no worſe a Place than this *Earth*; and the ſtate of ſinners in it, no worſe nor better (ſo over-merciful a God we have) than that of Men before the Deluge. [*The wicked*, ſaith he, *being left in the* ſtate *they were in* after *Adams* ſin, *may at the Reſurrection live* as they did.] As if the wicked in the Old World, had in it ſuffered and undergone their Hell, and that they had not been Reprieved for that time, from the Wrath to come. Here is a Hell for Sinners that would tempt them to be ſo. Is this *Wrath in the day of*

of Wrath? this the *Utmost* that God can do? Is *Tophet* Prepar'd of Old, and *Geenna*, and the Lake of *Fire and Brimstone*, and the Place *prepar'd* for the Devil, and his Angels, come to this? Is this the *Terrour of the Lord*, with which the Apostles perswaded men! Who would care for Hell, if this so soft and easie a Place be Hell! Ay, but the *Fire is Eternal.*

And what if Fire and Brimstone prepared for the Wicked in *Geenna* be eternal, and there never want men to be tormented in it, but that there be an Eternal Succession of the Wicked to keep in and feed that Fire? This will not Help the matter; For though the *Fire* be Eternal, yet seeing there is no one to lye Eternally therein, The *Punishment* is not Eternal; nor doth the Perpetuity of the Fire, bring an Aggravation to the Punishment and suffering of the sinner, since if he feel it not Eternally, it is to him all one as if it were but Temporal. What doth

doth it matter to a Criminal whose Execution is to be but short, how long the Gibbet stand, or how many others be hang'd on it after him? So to Interpret Eternal Fire, is to Trifle with it.

But this is a too Absurd and Gross Conceit for me to Exercise your Patience longer on it; wherefore to Apply my self unto the last particular; Not to mention what *Abatement* Goodness may be thought to make in Hell Torment, since this is secret, I shall only endeavour to demonstrate what suffices for my purpose, *that it is not Want of* Goodness, *no more than 'tis Injustice, to Inflict Eternal Punishments on those to whom they are threatned, when the Good Designs and Ends for compassing of which they were so, are altogether defeated.*

And in order to the stating and inlightning of the present point, I will offer all my Notions and Conceptions about it, under three Heads.

First, *I will endeavour to Establish this Truth, That Eternal Punishments are not Inflicted but on the Obstinate and Irreclaimable.*

Secondly, *I will Demonstrate, that it is but Just to Punish them Eternally that are Obstinate and Irreclaimable.*

Lastly, *I shall evidence there is no want of Goodness in inflicting of Eternal Punishments on such. So far the doing so is from being thwarting and inconsistent with it.*

That Infernal Torments are not inflicted, but on the **Obstinate** *and Irreclaimable*, cannot but be manifest to all that soberly consider, that the Divine Heart as well as Divine Arms are ever open to the Penitent and Converting, and that the great God, Resenting as he is of injuries and wrongs, yet sheweth not his wrath for any, but *on the vessels of dishonour*, those *whom he hath first endured with much long-suffering*, who notwithstanding all his Obligations on them, and all his endear-

ments, Audaciously persist as long as life enables, to Provoke him. Can any thing be more Express, or more full, than is the *Declaration* which he makes in favour of the Penitent? *If the wicked* will turn *from All his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my Statutes and do that which is Lawful and Right, He shall* surely live, *he shall* not dye. *All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him, in his Righteousness that he hath done, he shall* live. *Have I any* pleasure *at all that the wicked should* dye? *saith the Lord God, and not that he should return from his wayes and live? Again, when* [whensoever] *the wicked man* turneth away *from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doth that which is Lawful and Right, he shall* save *his soul alive, because he considereth and turneth away from all his Transgressions that he hath committed, He shall* surely live, *he shall not dye.* So manifest it is that none

Ezek 18. 21,22,23.

V. 27, 28.

none Perish but the Irreclaimable and Unrepenting.

For this Reason as well as Others are such forlorn wretches on whom infernal Torments shall hereafter be inflicted, compar'd to *chaff*, to *wild* Trees, to *dry* Trees, they being so Perverse, so Corrupt, so desperately Overgone with Wickedness and Lusts, that there is as little hope of working on them in the Methods Appointed by Divine Wisdom to that End, as of converting chaff into wheat, or of Receiving fair, and good and pleasant fruit from a wild and crabbed Tree, or from a wither'd and dry one. The *Chaff* only *shall be burned up with Fire Unquenchable*. And the *Tree* only that will not bring forth Good fruit, *is to be cut down*. And what Husband-man would not cut down a Tree that is but Cumber and Burthen to the Ground?

And this Re-minds me of the *second thing*, which I propounded to be evinced, namely, *That for God to*

Punish with Eternal Torment the Obstinate and Unreclaimable, is so far from being Hard and Unrighteous, that there is nothing more Agreeable to Justice, and to the common sentiment and notion which we all have of it, than This.

For *First*, If God inflict Eternal Torments on men, it is but what he *told them of before* that he would do, if they did not Reform, (which was *fair*) He striketh not but after He hath threatned, so that if they would themselves, they might avoid the Effects of his Anger; which if they do not, the blame and Imputation is not to be laid on God, who deplores them, and who gave them warning, but on themselves that would not take it. On this consideration *God* himself insists to Justifie his dealings, and when he had Accounted thus for them, he upbraids the *Israelites* with great Injustice and Unreasonableness, for not acknowledging the Equity and Righteousness of his Procedure. Yet

ye say, the way of the Lord is not equal. *Hear now, O house of* Israel, *is not my way equal?* are *not your wayes unequal?* When a *Righteous man turneth away*, &c. *and when the wicked man turneth away*, Ezek. 18. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

Again, if God were Good, and Wise, and Just in threatning as we have evinced him, he cannot be Unrighteous, Evil or Unjust in inflicting; it is but Vindication of his Word, and what he is obliged to in point of Honour, and in point of Justice to himself, to make them to feel the Verity and Truth of Comminations and Threats, who heretofore did mock and scorn them. They who do not Reform and Convert upon the *threatning* of Eternal Death, when God makes it, do by interpretation laugh at *That*, and dare him; it is as if they should say, we care not for his threats, nor fear them, let him that makes them do his worst. And what shall God in *Honour* then do, when he is challeng'd to do his

most, but the Justice which he owes himself, to make them feel the Dire Effects of his extream displeasure, who so despis'd it and him? Should he only threaten and not inflict, what were his Threatnings, but Ridiculous Fooleries! Once, Threatned He has, and he will execute his Threatnings. *He cannot deny himself.*

And supposing it to be a piece of high Justice to God, it cannot be unjustice to the sinner, to make him an Eternal Instance of Divine Displeasure, for *ut Verum vero, sic justum justo consonat.* There is as great a Consonancy and Agreement in all things which are Just, as there is in all things which are True: What is but Just to One, that cannot be Unjust and Unrighteous to Another. Indeed it is the Goodness of the great God to bear with men so long, and to try so many and so likely methods to reclaim them: But it is but Justice, when all endeavours to Reduce them, become Unprofitable and vain,

vain, to let Justice to himself, and to the sinner take its course. I say Justice to the sinner, for He inflicts but what the sinner merits. We have already proved an Infinity of Guilt in every Sin.

Finally, There is so great Reason that the Obstinate and Irreclaimable should be Eternal Instances of wrath, that by the Light of Nature, many wise and knowing men among the *Heathen* thought so. For *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Plutarch* and many others, though, as I have shewn already, They held infernal Pains to be Medicinal and Purgatory, and in that respect to be Finite, yet they also held, that Persons overgone with Wickedness and Vice, who were Obstinate, Perverse and Irreclaimable, are given up unto *ERINNYS* to abide in Torments, with that most Dreadful Fury for ever. *The crime is Great* saith *Aristotle* ἡ μὲν ἀνίατος *which is Immedicable.* If sayes *Plato*, *Any for the Greatness of their Crimes do seem Incurable*, of

Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 15.

Plat. in Phæd.

Id. in Gorg.

Οἱ δ' ἂν δίκην ἀνιάτου ἴσχοιν — Τούτους δ' ἡ μεγίστου Μοῖρα ῥίπτει εἰς τὰ Τάρταρα, ὅθεν οὔποτε ἐκβαίνουσι, *Them a Just Fate does Hurry into* Tartarus *or Hell, from whence they* never *Return.* Thus He in *Phædo.* And I find the like in his *Gorgias. Thespesius* in *Plutarch* reports the same.

Plutar. de iis qui tar. à Nem. cr.

So Just it is and so Righteous to make the Obstinate and Irreclaimable to suffer Torments as Everlasting as their *Souls.* But you will say, perhaps it may, but how *Good* is it? For though it may be called Goodness to Awe and Threaten men with Endless Torments in Order to Reform and Imbetter them; and, if they will not be imbetter'd and reformed by the threatning, it may be *Justice, but how can it be called* Goodness *to Inflict them?*

I might *answer*, as some others have before me, *That Divine Justice is a Perfection*, and consequently a kind of Goodness, That there is no possible Inconsistency between the former

former and the latter, that to be Just is to be Good. But that, since the Objection doth proceed of Moral, and not of Metaphysical and Abstract Goodness, it would look too plainly like an evasion, rather than an answer, to think to put it off and Baulk it with this.

Wherefore taking Goodness in a *Moral* sense for Kindness, Benignity, Clemency, I hold my self obliged *to evince there is no want thereof in the execution of Divine Justice, by Inflicting infinite eternal Punishments.* Nor is there, for certainly there cannot be a *want* or culpable Privation, Absence or Defect of Goodness, in *Administrations wherein it ought not Properly to be*; Privation or want it is *Absentia debiti inesse*, The Absence of that which ought [one way or other] to be in or Present; and therefore seeing Goodness it self Obliges not the great God to shew it in the mentioned circumstances [on the Obstinate and Irreclaimable] and consequently, it ought

ought not to be further exercised on them, there is no want thereof, if it be not.

Now there can be nothing clearer, than that Goodness obliges not the Great God to give Perpetual Demonstrations of it to the Irreclaimable and Obstinate; For Divine Goodness, as the Humane, is seated in a middle between the two extreams of Cruelty and Weakness, and is to be directed in the Exercises of it by *Reason* and *wisdom*. Now it is against all Reason, that Goodness which is but cast away upon the Stubborn and Incorrigible, should be everlastingly continued to them; for if it were, the Exercise thereof in such a circumstance, would not deserve the Honour of that name, since, though to bear long be Goodness, to bear alwayes, and with the Insolent and froward, is not so, but Weakness. Goodness obliges not God to shew it where there is no Reason He should, and where there is no Reason he should not. God owes

Justice

stice to himself. He is His Own End. Hear *Aristotle* in the case. Ὅι δὲ μὴ ὀργιζόμενοι περὶ οἷς δεῖ, ἀνόητοι δοκοῦσι· δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἱ μὴ ὀργιζόμενοι, μηδ' ὅτε, μηδ' οἷς δεῖ, φανερὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνόητοι.— *They who manifest no Displeasure for the things for which they ought, seem* fools, *as well as those, that are not Angry neither As, nor when, nor With whom they ought: for they seem to be* without Sense and Resentment, *&c.* Arist. de mor. l. 4. c. 11.

But to *exemplifie* the Reason, to render't more convincing; what if a Father, after he hath long threatned his Disobedient and Rebellious Son with disinherison and utter displeasure, do at last upon his Sons Persistance in his Follies, proceed to make him feel in effect what was threatned; Doth it argue any want of Fatherly affection, or kindness in the Parent, whose Bowels yearn, who would rather than the better part of his estate, it may be of his Blood, he could reclaim and turn him? No, but a Noble and exem-

plar

plar piece of *Justice* which He owed to himself, which if he had not executed in the present circumstances, after so much injury and affront done to him, and so much Patience and endurance exercised by him, the world would accuse him of impotent and fond Indulgence, and of most pittiful *Weakness*. And is so Irrational and impotent a Fondness inexcusable in man that hath Infirmity of Nature to Apologize and plead for it, what would it be in God that hath none? 'Tis Reason only obliges to be Good. Indeed so long there is Reason to be Good, in the *Reason* of Goodness, as there is no Reason against it. To be good against Reason, is Folly and Weakness, not Goodness.

But it may be, you will say, *But why so much Haste then? and why doth God Precipitate a Sentence, which he might much longer defer? Perhaps, had he but deferred it a little longer, those that have not converted, would convert.*

I an-

I answer, *Every man hath his Time*, and the *Order* of the Universe, that Frame and Constitution of things, whereby they ever are in Flux and Revolution, allows no more; many they be who are to Act their Parts on this Terrestrial Stage, and those that are before must go off, and take their leaves, to make room for those that follow: every one must have his turn, there is a settled Law and Order of Nature, and, according to it, *One Generation passeth, and another cometh.* One must pass, that another may come. Now 'tis highly Rational and Congruous, that Divine Wisdom should conform to the Laws it self hath made; and no less so, that this consideration of the shortness and Uncertainty of Humane Opportunities and Seasons, should excite in man a due and thorough care to improve them; it being extream weakness for Him, by any Omission to neglect and Trifle with the Present, that knows himself not

sure

sure of the Future; it is, *to day if we will hear his voyce.* This is the great Reason why God has tendred humane life so Uncertain; namely, to Prevent the Oscitancy and Delayes, that man is subject to; *I come as a Thief in the Night; watch therefore.*

Nor may it be thought that longer time would effect what those advantages the present time affordeth doth not. Nothing will reclaim the irreclaimable and Obstinate; that very space to Repent, which doth intenerate and mollifie the vertuous and ingenuous, it but confirmeth and emboldens the stubborn and wicked; there is enough afforded in the present time to Operate on those that do not harden their Hearts, and no forbearance, no Patience will have a good effect and operation upon those that do. *To day if you will hear his voyce*, harden not *your Hearts:* his Voice is loud enough to make men hear, if they harden not their Hearts, and stop not their Ears.

In

In fine, *How long should God try?* What bounds and limits would you set his Goodness? When He hath stay'd one year, would you not demand another? When he hath waited one and another, perhaps if he would stay the third, the sinner might Repent; and you might as well demand a thousand years as one, and as well a Myriad of years as a thousand. How long shall God await and expect? Surely *For ever*, if Delinquent man shall vote it. Man will never think that God hath tryed long enough, and God only knows when he has.

Thus I have evinced all I undertook to do upon the first Argument, and all was necessary I should. I have evinced that there are Eternal Punishments; that there is equality and Proportion between the Punishment (as Endless and Eternal as it is) and the sin; I have evinced that the threatning of Eternal Punishment, in order to the compassing the Present and the Future Weal of Man,

Man, is an Instance of Divine Benignity; and also that the Infliction of them on the irreclaimable and Obstinate is a great Evincement of Divine Justice, and none of any want of Goodness, Kindness or Clemency.

And now when I recall my thoughts, I find them tempted to suggest to me, That all the labour I have put my self to in writing, and (put) you to in reading is superfluous; the matter might have been concluded more effectually in fewer words. For *what if God whose only End is his Glory, and the Demonstration of Himself in all his Attributes and Perfections, willing to shew his Just and Dreadful wrath upon his Open enemies, should execute* and hang them up in chains of Darkness, to make them Everlasting Instances and Monuments thereof to Saints and Angels? What if God will?

And I the rather stand on this Argument, because it looks so like the Great

Great Apostle's, *But O man, who art thou that Replyest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that form'd it, why hast thou made me thus? what if God willing to shew his wrath, and to make his Power known, endured with much long-suffering the Vessels of wrath fitted to Destruction?* We ought to acquiesce in all Divine Appointments, and to believe them (to be) Just, when we know them to be Gods, because his Will is Justice, and it is his *Prerogative not only to Ordain the time when, and the manner how, but also the Duration and extent of all the Punishments of the wicked*, how long they are to endure, *as well as of what weight they ought to be.* For so *Pindarus* in *Plutarch*, so Religious was he in this point.

Plutarch. de iis qui tard. à num. corrip.

Quod, &c. *inter multos alios* Pindarus *quoque testatur, qui optimum appellat Artificem, Gubernatorem & Dominum rerum omnium* Deum, *utpote verè* Justitiæ factorem & *crea-*

torem, cui soli definire convenit, quando, quomodo, ac quousque sceleste-rum unusquisque plectii debeat.

And so much for the **First** Argument, the seeming inequality of Infinite and Eternal Punishments to Finite Transgressions; I now proceed to the **Second**, from the **Nature of Punishment.**

Punishment, say you, (*According to the Notion We have of it,*) *is either for the Good of the whole, or of the Part, and 'tis inflicted*, Not to torment *the Criminal, but either to* Amend *him, or the Society of which He is a Member, that both may Enjoy the Comforts and the Sweets of it: but what of Good in Everlasting Punishment is there to either of These*, &c.

I know not whether the Present Argument will signifie the less with you, (for with me it will not) after I have told you that the Notion it is Bottomed on, is Mr. *Hobbs's*, and that it is in him I find, That *the Law of Nature ordaineth that no Revenge*

Hobbs de corp. polit. part. 1. c. 3. art. 10.

Revenge be taken upon consideration only of the Offence Past, but of the Benefit to come, that is to say, That all Revenge [by which he means Punishment] *ought to tend to* amendment either of the Person offending, or of others by *the example of his Punishment, which* (sayes he) *is sufficiently apparent*, &c.

A Notion so Unhappy in its Tendency and Influence, that it will effectually Perform what you urge it for, in all that can design so ill to improve it. Of this its Tendency Mr. *Hobbs* himself is well aware, and therefore he endeavours to remove the *Scandal* he foresaw his Dogme would on this account administer to serious and considerate Persons; but in such a way as really does Aggravate *it*, concerning which I shall say more hereafter. But to return to you.

Hobbs de corp. polit. ch. 5. art. 11.

It was not (I believe) from Mr. *Hobbs* for whom you manifest no good Resentment, that you received this Notion of Punishment,

not do I think you comprehend the *Hobbists* (though you see you might) when you say the Notion *WE* have of it——there are other Persons of a fairer Reputation in the World both for Learning and Religion than you perhaps esteem Mr. *Hobbs*, or any of his Sectaries (to be) who are of the same side you take.

What *Plutarch's* Notion of Punishment is, you may infer from what I have already offer'd on the first Argument, and for *Seneca* and *Plato*, both of them seem entirely yours. *Seneca* sayes expressly, and for what he saith, he quoteth *Plato*, that *thus ought to be consider'd in every* infliction of Punishment, *that it be designed either* to amend *the wicked, or to* remove *them, and that in both, respect ought not to be had to what is* Past, *but to the* Future, *forasmuch as* Plato *affirmeth, No Prudent Rector will inflict Punishment on any man, because he* hath *offended already, but lest he* should

should offend again; *it being impossible that things Past should be recall'd, but not so that things future should be Prevented.* But happily, you will like it better in his own language, and therefore take it so. *Hoc semper in omni animadversione* (saith he) *servabit, ut sciat alteram adhiberi, ut* emendet *malos: alteram ut* tollat. *In utroque non* præterita, *sed* futura *intuebitur. Nam ut* Plato *ait, Nemo Prudens punit, quia* peccatum est, *sed ne* peccetur. *Revocari enim Præterita non possunt: futura prohibentur & quos volet nequitiæ male cedentia exempla fieri, palam occidet: non tantum ut pereant ipsi, sed ut alios perendo deterreant.* Sen. de Ira, l. 1.

Lipsius affirmeth this Passage to be cited out of *Plato de Legibus*, and for that purpose he produceth the following Text, which indeed hath something like it.——— Lips. cent. 3. Ser. l. 1. de Iraut 177

E Platone hæc sumpta 9. de Legib. Ὃν δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δεῖν κύριον ἀνομία, γενομένη καὶ ἔτι νῦν. Δικαίου δὲ πάντων ἀπο-

καὶ ἐν ἀρετῇ ἀσκεῖν, ἢ ἀνεξικακίᾳ τε καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ χρῆσθαι.

Plat. in Protag. But I find a more express and pertinent one in his *Protagoras*.

Οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει καὶ ἀδικοῦντα τοῦτο τοῦτο δὴ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὃν ἀδικεῖν ὀρθῶς, ὅστις μὴ ὤκνει θεῶν ἀλεξήσασθαι τιμωρούμενος. ὁ δὲ μὴ πλέον ὀκνῶν κωλύει ὁ τοῦ παραλογιστοῦ ἕνεκα ἀδικεῖσθαι τιμωρούμενος (ὁ γὰρ ἂν τάχα, ἀσχολίαν ἀγόμενος θείαν) ἀλλ' ἕνα μόνον χάριν, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις ἀδικῶν μόνος ᾖ, μόνος ἀλογίστων ἰδὼν κολαζόμενος. καὶ παιδεύειν δικαίως ἔχει, διανοούμενος παιδευτὴν εἶναι ἀρετῆς. ἀνεξικακεῖν γὰρ ἕνεκα κολάζει.

Nor is this the only Pertinent Citation to be had in *Seneca*, there are many more of like Import, of which yet there is but One that for its Fulness and Conformity of sense to yours, I shall at present note; 'tis in his first Book of Clemency, wherein there is the following Paragraph. *Transeamus* (saith he)

Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

——as

ad alienas injurias: in quibus vindicandis hic tria lex secuta est, quæ princeps quoque sequi debet: aut ut eum quem punit, emendet, aut ut pœna ejus cæteros meliores reddat; aut ut sublatis malis securiores cæteri vivant.

But to come nearer home, I find a Learned man, and he One that though he were not a Profest Divine, yet in Divinity has merited in many things as much as most that are, I mean *Grotius*, who owns the same Notion of Punishment with that which you Propose as yours, For he saith, *Jus puniendi in rectore, &c. non est aut jus absoluti* Dominii, *aut Jus* Crediti. *Probatur hoc primo ex fine, qui optime solet distinguere facultates. Nam Jus absoluti* dominii *ut & jus* Crediti *comparatum est* ejus gratiâ, *qui id jus habet: at jus puniendi*, non punientis causa *existit, sed causâ* communitatis *alicujus.* Pœna *enim omnis Propositum habet* Bonum commune, *ordinis nimirum conservationem*

Grot. de Satisf. Christ. c. 2.

onem & exemplum: ita quidem ut rationem expetibili, non habeat, nisi ab hoc fine, *cum jus Dominii & Crediti per se sunt expetibilia. Hoc sensu Deus ipse Dicit* se poena eorum qui puniuntur non delectari.

Dr. Stil. Discourse concerning the Sufferings of Christ, c. 1. sect. 4.

And I will add to *Grotius* his *Testimony*, for the Resemblance and Conformity it hath therewith, *that* of a Worthy Person of our own, who also tells us (as the Author last mentioned) *That the Obligation to Punishment arises from the* Injury the Publick sustains by the Impunity of Crimes, *of which Magistrates are to take care; for the Reason of Punishment is not because a Law is broken, but because the breach of the Law tends to dissolve the* Community *by Infringing of Laws, and the honour of those who are to take care of them; For if we consider it, the* measure of Punishment *is in a well ordered State taken from the Influence which crimes have upon* the peace and interest of the Community, *therefore, Pride, Avarice, Malice,*

Malice, are not Punish'd by Humane Laws as severely, as Theft, *&c.— So that the common note talked of* Fiat Justitia & pereat mundus, *is a piece of* Pedantry, *rather than true wisdom*——And that *hence it appears in Humane Laws*, *the* Reason *of Punishment is not that such an Action is done*, *but because the Impunity in doing it may have a bad influence on* the Publick *interest*, *but* in debts *the right of Restitution depends upon the Injury received by a Particular Person*, *who looks at no more than the Reparation of his loss by it.*

I make no question but whatever Perswasion you may possibly have had before, you have this now, that I will *do you all the right* imaginable in the Argument, seeing I acknowledge (that) the Notion that is its Basis and Foundation, hath such Authority to countenance and favour it: *which that I may*, I shall reduce the Reason which you urge, to Form, and so display it in its Utmost Evidence

dence and Force, and then joyn Issue upon it. And in *Form* it runs thus, *All Punishment which is inflicted justly, is inflicted either for the Good of the whole, or of the part: But Everlasting Punishment as such, is neither inflicted for the Good of the whole, nor for the God of the Part. Therefore Everlasting Punishment as such is not inflicted justly,* and consequently, *not at all.* For Everlasting Punishment is none, if not Just.

Or thus,

All Just and Righteous Punishment is inflicted, not to torment, but to amend the Party Punished, or the Society whereof he is a member, that both may enjoy the sweets. But Infernal Everlasting Punishments are not, cannot be inflicted to amend the Punished, or the Society, but only to Torment the Offender. Therefore, &c.

This is your Argument in Form, wherein I take it to be so conclusive, so cogent against Mr. *Hobbs* and

and men of his Persuasion, that I see not how on his Principle the force thereof is avoidable. The Answer he vouchsafeth it, is utterly unapable of being applyed, Neither of the Propositions in the mentioned Syllogism, are in the least considered. A Truth you will assoon acknowledge as you shall have read what he says. Concerning *Revenge*, saith he, which by the *Law of Nature* ought not to aim (as I have said *c. 3. sect. 10.*) at *present delight*, but *future Profit*, there is some difficulty made by such as object the continuance of Punishment after the *Day of Judgement*; when there shall be no place neither for amendment, nor for example. This *Objection* had been of some force, if such Punishment had been *ordained* after all sins were past, but considering the Punishment was *instituted before the sin*, it serveth to the benefit of mankind, because it keepeth men in Peaceable and Vertu-

Hobbs de corp. polit. part. 1. ch. 5. sect. 11.

ous

« ous Conversation by the exterior,
« and therefore such Revenge was
« directed to the *Future* only.

Who seeth not how unapplyable to either Proposition in the mention'd Argument this Answer is? besides the great Harshness, that Revenge should not regard the Past, but the Future; and as great a mistake [or *Ignoratio Elenchi*] as if the thing in question were the *Instituting* and Ordaining of Eternal Punishment, whereas indeed it is the *Inflicting*, between which there is no little Difference; since if the Menacing and Threatning of Revenge respects the Future, yet the Execution and Performance of that Revenge, doth in common sense regard the Past.

Wherefore seeing Mr. *Hobbs*'s Answer will not satisfie a thinking man, I must Essay to give the argument another, wherein though I might content my self simply to deny the *Major*, namely, that All Punishment which is inflicted justly,

is

is inflicted either for the Good and Reformation of the Party Punished, or for Example to Others: Yet considering of how great advantage it may prove, not only to detect a false Notion of Punishment, but instead thereof to Settle and Establish a true One, I shall in order thereunto expatiate in my Answer. And there are *four* things that I will do in it.

First, *I will consider Punishment in general, as Abstracting from Divine and Humane, and so from common Notions, endeavour to explain the Nature of it, and the Ends, where I will shew it to be Vindictive.*

Secondly, *I will shew, that the Notion of Revenge is not incompetent to God, but that He is a Revenger.*

Thirdly, *I will shew, that all Infernal Punishments are Vindictive, or that they are Revenges.*

Fourthly, *I will answer those Objections that either Mr.* Hobbs's *Principles, or other mens suggest against*

Against what I say concerning Eternal Punishment, and the Person that God sustains in Punishing.

To the First. And what is Punishment in the common sense and Notion which all the World has of it, but *Infliction of some Evil* [of Pain] *on an offender for some Past offence?*. Or as others judge it fitter to express it, *An Infliction of a Natural for a Moral Evil. Malum Pœnæ propter malum Culpæ, Malum Passionis propter malum Actionis*, Evil of Suffering for evil Doing. Indeed the Notion strictly taken, immediately agreeth but to Corporal Punishment, as it is distinguisht from Pecuniary, That being called *Pœna* properly, this *Mulcta*; But yet it Secondly agrees to Mulcts also; For these, though in Propriety of Language they be not called Pains, are yet called *Penalties*; to signifie they are not Punishments, but in that Respect wherein as Evils, they do Afflict and Pain.

Grot. de Jur. Bell. l. 2. c. 20.

This

This then is the true and proper *Notion*, and the most agreeable to Holy Scripture, of Punishment as it abstracteth from Divine and Humane, and *it* importeth in it somewhat as the *matter*, somewhat as the *form*. For the **Matter**, it importeth Pain; for the term Pain in *English*, is deriv'd from *Pœna*, the word for Punishment in *Latine*; and indeed what ever is inflicted could not be a Punishment unto the Party, if it did not some way Pain him. For the **Form**, it importeth a Relation to committed sin, in recompence of which, and as a thing deserved, the Pain or Evil is inflicted; for Pain inflicted without Relation unto some Offence and Transgression, may indeed be called an *Affliction*, but to make that Pain a *Punishment*, it must regard some Injury, some wrong done, for expiating which it is inflicted. Thus Punishment it is *Retributive*, and that it is so, the very Terms that signifie it in the *Greek*, do also manifestly

nifestly show; in which Language it is called ἀνταπόδοσις, ἀντιδοσις, ἀμοιβὴ, all which imply a Retribution, and so the Learned *Selden* understood it, who sayes, *Ex rationis & essentiâ Pœna propriè dictæ est ut pro peccato seu culpa aliqua impendatur*, &c. *Omnigena enim est partim* Retributiva, *&c.*

Selden. de jur. nat. & gent. l. 1. c. 4.

In this Notion Punishment is really *Revenge*, and indeed in general is styled Τιμωρία or Revenge by *Plato* in *Gorgias*, *Vindictâ* by *A. Gellius*, and *Ulpian* that great Lawyer, defineth it *Vindicta noxæ*, A Vindication of received wrong. For what other is Revenge, than what I have described Punishment, a *Retribution of Evil*, a rendring Evil back again for evil received, or a making him to suffer evil, that hath first done it? Only, it looks in common Usage, as if in some formalities they differ'd, and that to make Revenge Punishment, there were requir'd a *Sanction* of it by Law, as if to render Evil, where there is

Vid. Cic. de Invent. l. 2.

no

no Law to countenance and favour it, were bare Revenge, but where there is, it were Punishment. This I say, it seems, for whether any such Distinction be indeed to be allowed or not, I make a great Question. For as much as all Revenges *anciently* were called Punishments, Genuine and Proper. So *Pausanias*, — *Αἰσχύνεσθαι δὲ χρὴ, ἐν τοῖς ἀμύνασθαι τὸν ἀνάνδρου ἀδικήσαντα.* *The* Antients *were wont to call* Revenges Punishments.

Pausan. in Laconic.

Nor is *Castigation* or Chastisement (whatever *Scaliger* and others think) to be excepted; for as Punishment, it is Retributive, it looketh *backward*, and is inflicted in the name of merit for some transgression past, and consequently is *Revenge*; though as it looketh *forward* to the Future, and is intended to Reform the Party, and to prevent his doing so again; it is but a *Remedy*, or Medicine. I say it again, that Castigation in the *Prospect* of it, is not Punishment; and in the *Retrospect*

Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 1. c. 4.

it is Revenge; and so saith Selden in the place before quoted, *Omnigena enim est parsim saltem* Retributiva, *tametsi simul etiam fuerit* medicinalis, *ut in Scholis loquuntur, seu emendationis suæ ipsius peccantis sive alterius adhibita. Neque sane Platonicum illud* neminem Prudentem Punire quia Peccatum est, sed ne peccetur, verum *satis esse potest, nisi intelligas*, &c.

And from what I have already offer'd it doth evidently *follow*,

First, *That it is not wholly expressed by you, that Punishment is not inflicted to Torment the Criminal*, you might as well have said, that Punishment is not inflicted to be Punishment; it is Essential unto Punishment to be *Afflictive*, for otherwise it could not be the issue and effect of Wrath or *Anger*, which yet I shall evince it presently to be. To vex and grieve the offender is the proper end of Anger, and its proper design, and it is in this, as *Aristotle* tells us, that it differs

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 5.

sort from *Hatred* and Malice. I [illegible]

And this brings me to the Second Consectary, *That all Punishment is ordained or Transgressors for Offences Rightly an Effect and effect of Anger*, for what else is Anger but as [illegible] hath defined it, and as our own Experience sensibly evinces it, *Ira* [illegible] an *Appetitum vel Desiderium of Revenge*, and consequently, Punishment is in satisfaction and contentment to Anger. Hence the Scripture Paraphrases Punishment, *by the letting out of wrath or Anger.* Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 2.

I know the famous *Stagirite* defineth Anger otherwise, that it is not *appetitus Ultionis*, but *Depulsionis*, not a Desire of Revenging, but averting Evill. A Notion not a little opposite to common sense, and to be admired how possibly it could be his, who was so wrathful and vindictive a Man, and who from his own experience, was as capable as ever any was of knowing better. Stal. Ex. ex. 313.

But I take the Answer to him to be very Pertinent, which *Cudworth*, a Scholar as Substantial and as Real, and every way as great as himself, has given long agoon this occasion, *Verum dicere* (saith he) *ut omnis opem interrui, quam sum inepta disputandi ratione, ut ratione ejus esse quo definita: sæpe enim nulla quæstio solet, quæ non [illegible] sed alia ut ab illo antiphrasi, quasi ab aliqua veterum significatione accipit, nec [illegible] quod ita fit, sed [illegible] quæ simplici narrationi, [illegible] dictatoriæque [illegible] &c.*

Cudw. Assis. 1. contra talum.

Again, the Sentiment of that Noble Stoick, which also [illegible] tius owns as his, That Justice is not *Ira*, but *Ratio*, that Justice is Reason, and not Anger, is alledged. [illegible] it were impossible that Justice should be Reason, if it were Anger. A Notion worthy only of Persons who believe the Affections to be *intrinsically evil*, or who understand them in their Irrational

excessus only, as *Seneca* did when he talked so; and not of those that can believe *that* they be natural, *that* they are *ordained* in God; *that* under Regulations and within their Bounds, they are not Evils, but Perfections; *We may be Angry and not sin.* For my part, I can with those Philosophers of whom I read in *Plutarch*, who think that there is Reason in Passion; Once *Animal* in man is *Rationale*; Humane Passions, Regulated and Conducted by the Mind, are no Irrational Extravagancies, or Emotions Opposite to Humane Reason, but *Virtues* that partake it, and in themselves Accomplishments that Integrate the Humane Nature, without which it would be Lame, Imperfect, Defective.

Vid. Arist. de Mor. l. 4 c. 11.

Plut. de Prac. vir. in Tim.

Vid. Ter. Eun. de Ira Bib. c. 27. & 21. & 22.

In a word, *Vindictive Justice*, as Justice, it is Reason; as Vindictive, it is Anger; and though it be not that Anger which is excessive and extravagant, a thing so far from being governed by Reason, and participating of it, that 'tis inconsistent

with it, and is a Perturbation that transports a man beyond all Bounds. Yet *Anger* it is; as Anger is that Rational Inclination that a Person hath to vindicate himself, for those Indignities and those Affronts that are done him. In this sense all Punitive Justice is Anger, and in this sense also is Reason; so that is not true to say, that Justice is Reason and not Anger, For Punitive Justice is both, it is Reason and Anger, or Reasonable Anger. In fine, I oppose to *Seneca's* Authority, that of *Plato* and of *Aristotle*.

Plat. 11. de rep.
Arist. 3. Eth. Nic. c. 8. apud Lipsium. Com in Sen. l. 1. de Ira.

So much in general for the Nature of Punishment. Now touching the *Ends of Punishment*, and that *Division* which is made thereof in reference to them; I say, that seeing there are several *Parties* in every Punishment that is Inflicted, of which the One is *Agent*, He that Punisheth; the Other *Patient*, he that is Punished; and then the *circumstants* and standers by. The Punishment may bear Relation to

them

them all, and is conformity to those Relations, as it is expressed by several *Titles*, so it also has as many several *Ends* and Designs.

For **First**, *In relation to the agent, or to him* that doth Inflict, in which respect they call it *Τιμωρία* or Revenge, it is design'd in *satisfaction of his Anger*, to assert and free him from contempt offer'd, and so to make Reparation to, his lost, or injur'd honour. Hence *Τιμωρία quasi τιμὴ ἀρῶσα*, or as *A. Gellius*, *idcircoque id vocabulum à conservatione honoris factum putant.* Nell. A. L. c. 14.

That Reparation of lost and injur'd Honour is intended in Revenge, or Punishment, is Unquestionable, in as much as Revenge, which I have defined Retribution of evil, is not only expressed in common language, by *I will be quits with him*, I will meet with him, I will be even with him, in respect of which it is called *Ἀντιποίνη* (*Plat.*) *Retaliation*; but 'tis also expressed, by *I will make him know himself*, I will make

him; know whom he hath to do with, before I have done with him; and this is *Reparation* of Assaulted Honor. Hence it is that Vindication, which originally and at first did signifie Revenge, was afterward imployed to signifie Assertion or Defence; because the true Design of Revenge is to assert and free the taker of it from that *contempt*, and that neglect which was shewn him.

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 2.

And truly, there is nothing *sweeter than Revenge, as it atchieveth this End*; it carries in it so much satisfaction and gratification, something so agreeable and so delightful, that common sense as well as *Aristotle* tells us, ἡδὺ μὲν γὰρ τὸ νικᾶν, ἡδὺ Revenge is sweet. No wonder therefore that it is so Natural to seek Revenge, since it is so sweet; there is nothing more Delightful than to *Overcome* an enemy, and to *Regain* lost Honour; a Delight so Pure, so Abstract, that tis not Unworthy of Almighty God himself, who is

Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 11. & l. 2. c. 2.

assumed to Assume it. *He rejoyceth over his Adversaries.*

Tis in relation unto this *end*, that *Anger* cannot satisfie it self, as *Malice* does, that evil be inflicted upon him that hath provoked it; *It requireth further, that he be sensible* of that Evil, and who inflicted it; for if he be not, it cannot compass this its End thereby; It *removeth* not contempt, it maketh not the enemy *to know himself*, no nor to know *him* neither with whom he hath to do.

In fine, *This end is so inseparable from Punishment*, that whosoever does inflict this, must needs propose it; and if he do not actually propose it, he is in Reason to be interpreted to do so virtually, in respect of the Person he sustains, which is of one so impaired, so injured in his Honor by some contempt shewn him, that he cannot choose but vindicate it. This is the proper end of Punishment as Punishment, and in respect of this, Punishment is meer

Pu-

nishment. Hence God when he threatens to Revenge and Punish, words it, *I will make them know that I am the Lord, &c.*

So much for Punishment *as it respects the Party that inflicts it*; but *as it respects the Party punished*, so 'tis called [illegible] or Castigation, and is intended for his *Good*, and Amendment. For Instance, a Father so corrects his Child, a Master his Servant, not meerly by way of Vindication, for that he hath been bad, but by way of Reformation, that he may be made better. *Folly is bound up in the Heart of a Child, and the* Rod of Correction *must fetch it out.* Thus Punishment is *Physick.*

But if we consider Punishment in *Reference to the standers by or Assistants*, so it is called [illegible] or Example; a word used also in the Scripture, *Joseph was not willing to make Mary* a [Publick] *Example* [[illegible]] and *those things are written for our* examples

amples [[illegible]] and *is Designed to deterr* and fright others from committing like transgressions, and thus also Punishment is *Physick*.

And so *much for the First* Particular, to explicate the Nature and the Ends of Punishment, wherein I have evinced it (as such) to be *Vindictive*; I now proceed to the **Second**, *which is to shew*, that *Punishment in this notion of Vindictive, is not incompetent to God*, but that as he punishes, so he is an *Avenger*; and that the Punishments which he inflicts, are not only Castigations and Examples, but Revenges.

And there is nothing more perspicuous than this Truth; for **First**, *Therefore he Assumeth Anger, wrath* and Indignation to himself, nay, Jealousie, to shew he minds his Glory, *that* he will not bear contempt, *that* it is no good despising of him, *that* if he be despised, as he wanteth not the Power, so he will not want the [illegible] to avenge for it.

it. The thought that God will avenge, it strikeath men with fear, and the *fear of God is the Beginning of Wisdom*; they that fear him cannot slight him. So *Aristotle*, *Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν ὑπερβολῇ*, *He that fears cannot slight or contemn.*

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 2.

Again, *He hath ingrafted a Vindictive Principle into* every thing that hath sense; there is not a Worm but has it, and he that hath ingrafted Revenge, shall not he Revenge? for if he that Planted the ear, must needs hear, and he that made the eye, must needs see; and he that gave a heart to man, must needs understand; then surely he that hath implanted in every living thing a Principle of Revenge, in order to its own defence and conservation, must needs be one himself that will take it.

Thirdly, And it being legible and manifest in Nature, no wonder if *the very Heathens saw it*. For besides the *Adrastia* and *Nemesis* of the Poets, that Sanctuary and Asylum (that) they have made for injur'd vertue,

Vit. Pyt. Adag. tit. Bibl. Chartar. de Iurg. Dior. f. 307, 308, &c.

I find

I find as much in Livy, *ad Deos Vindices pertinere quæ pro sua quisque sententia, sed certe, Summum imperium habet Deus, illorum sed certe Vindices generis humani*, &c. And there is a plain and full assertion of it in the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, of which the first (we have) is, *Ad Divos adeunto casti, Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento, Lift up pure hands to God, Exercise piety, Use no costly and expensive ceremonies.* Qui sicut *faxit, Deus ipse Vindex erit. He that doth otherwise, God will take Vengeance upon him.* It is *Deus erit Vindex*, not *erit Judex*, *Pierre's* Observation, it is not that God will *Judge*, but that he will *Revenge*.

Fourthly, But I fear too long in arguing a point that is so manifest, for what is plainer than that God is one that executeth Vengeance, since *he appropriately is to himself*, Vengeance is mine, *and I will repay it*; for he not only own himself therein to be a Revenger, but he claims it

Cic. de leg. l. 2.

Ib. cit. de nat. d.

as his great *Prerogative* to be so? Vengeance is mine, it is not man's; I will re[illegible]. And no less than this did *Seneca* imply in saying, *Let this therefore be for our comfort, that although our frailty omitteth Revenge, there will be some one who will revenge us on an Audacious Proud and Injurious Enemy.*

Sen. in ep. non cad. Injuria. c. 18.

But you will ask me, why doth God Appropriate Vengeance? and how doth he Execute it?

I answer *First* to the first Question, that *therefore Vengeance is appropriated unto God, because in every wrong*, iniquity, injury or sin, which in its utmost comprehension and extent he hath strictly forbidden, *there is contempt of him* and his command; so that though the Hurt and Injury be done to man, yet there being also in it *Contempt* and Neglect of God, it were an *Insolence* that could not be excused, for the Creature to take the matter out of his Creators hands, who is infinitely more concerned in it than

he. This were for man to frustrate and defeat (as much as in him lyes) the Vindication and Revenge of his Superiour and Lord, and by a Presumptuous execution and Pursuit of his own, God tryes, *Vengeance is mine.* I am more concerned in the Injury than Thou. Thy Enemy *wrongs* thee, but he *contemns* me; and therefore since it is so much my Interest to see it taken, do thou leave the Revenge to me. And to leave it to God, is but a piece of Deference and Respect we owe him. So *Aristotle*, *ἐν ᾧ ἄνδρες, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα ἐκδίκοις τὸν τῶν θεῶν νόμον.* *Eth. Nic. l. 2, c. 16.* *It is Piety* (as one doth Paraphrase it) *to leave the matter to God, who if there be any fraud or contempt, will purge* Revenge.

And *How* is *Vengeance executed by him*, which was the Second Question I supposed you to put, *but either immediately* and in his own Person, or *mediately* and by his Ministers of State and *Magistrates?* Vengeance is God's, but he hath be-

trusted as with men to execute the
let it out, *I have said, ye are Gods*;
Magistrates that bear the name, they
have the keeping of the Honour and
Vengeance of God; it is God hath
put the Sword into their hands, and
to appeal to them for Vengeance, is
to go to God for it. Goddoth Re-
venge, when they do, *Vengeance is*
mine, and I will repay. This is
the *Charter*, wherein the Magistrates
vindictive Power, or Right of the
Sword is conveyed. Men must not
right themselves, it is God must
right them. For this End he hath
appointed men on earth in *his name*
to do it, this is the Basis and Foun-
dation of Magistratical Power, and
this is the sole consideration that
makes the Prosecution of Injuries
Lawful. Were not Magistrates *Gods*,
there could be no complaining to
them, for redress of Grievances, nor
going to Law before them, in Vindi-
cation of our Rights and Properties,
for Vengeance is Gods.

I make

I make no question, but by this time you see the little excursion I have made in this Particular, is not impertinent, but that I was obliged to it, to obviate the *Prejudices* some have taken up against the Vindictiveness of Punishments in general, and consequently of Divine Ones; namely, that Humane Punishments are so *Rectoral*, as *not to be vindictive* or effects of Anger. But you see now, that Magistrates as *Rectors are Gods*, that as such, they are invested with Vindictive Power, and are in the Place and Stead of God, to execute *His* Anger for all Dishonour and contempt done him; so that the *Obligation unto* Punishment, in a rightly instituted Commonwealth, ariseth not only from the Danger that not unlikely may accrue unto it by the Impunity of crimes, but also from the *dishonour and Affront* is offer'd in them unto God, the Soveraign Rector. So far is *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum*, from being a piece of solemn Pedantry.

Yes, it is a Principle of solid and substantial *wisdom*. God is the First Author, and therefore He is the Utmost End of Humane Societies, 'tis *by him*, and therefore for him that *Kings Rule*, and *Princes decree Justice*. Of this Perswasion were such Illustrious *Romans* as accused of Parricide (for having murdered his Sister) that *Horatius* (one of the *Tregemini*) to whom all *Rome* was so obliged, and so freshly, and what they Urg'd in order to procure Justice upon *him*, evinces that they thought the doing of it on *All* Wisdom, and that as much as *Common-wealths* are interessed and concerned in Punishments, All-mighty *God* is more. *His longa oratione proferebant Leges* (sayes *Dionysius*) *quæ nemini quempiam indemnatum occidere permittunt: recensebantq;* exempla Deorum iræ *in civitates quæ* inulta *fuissent scelera*. Yes, and in the same case, so scrupulous and tender was the *King* himself, that though the People upon Appeal made

Dionys. Halicarnass. l. 3.

made to Them, had acquitted that Deserving Criminal, yet *Tullus Hostilius* out of the great Respect, Fear and Reverence which he paid to his Deities, would not but in the way of *Expiation* and Sacrifice. *Rex tamen non contentus hominum calculis, & de* Religione solicitus, *accitis Pontificibus jussit* placari Deos, *atque Genios, & cade Juvenem* expiari *legitime*.

Nor is what I now assert with so much confidence, more than what the Great Apostle hath asserted long before me, in *Rom.* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. For nothing can be plainer, than that in the Text alledged, *Paul* affirms what I have, (1.) That the Magistrate is a *Revenger*, for he not only calleth him a *Terror* to the Evil (which implyes it) but in terms a Revenger. *He is the Minister of God*, a Revenger. (2.) That Revenge taken by the Magistrate, as the Sword with which he takes it, is *God's*: *He beareth not the Sword in vain, He is* the Minister of God.

(3.) That Punitive Justice is *Vindictive*, and Punishments Effects of *Wrath*, not the Wrath of Man, but the Wrath of God, *He is the Minister of God to Execute*, What? Justice to be sure. But that Justice is *Wrath*, Divine Wrath; *He is the Minister of GOD to Execute* WRATH.

And my Assent to these Assertions is unshaken, notwithstanding that I find **objected**, that the mea-
"sure of Punishment is taken from
"the *Influence* that crimes have up-
"on the *Peace* and Interest of the
"Community, Pride, Avarice, Ma-
"lice not being punished by Humane
"Laws as severely as *Theft*, &c.
But this moves not me.

For *First*, Humane Laws (as also Law-givers) are not alwayes what they should be. And we must distinguish *Humane Laws*. For these are either *Universal*, such as are coincident with Laws Divine, and do Prohibit or Injoyn, what they do: or else *Municipal*, and more Particular,

cular, founded only on the Profit and Utility of such as Consent to them. Now Humane Laws of the *first sort*, which I called Universal, are properly *Laws*, and do oblige the Conscience, as being of Divine Appointment and Sanction, and the Punishments annexed to them must be executed on offenders, they being *Vindicts* and concerning God. But Humane Laws indeed of the *second sort*, which I would rather call *Agreements* of the People or Compacts under a forfeiture, do oblige no farther, than as they are of Advantage; Nor by the breaking of them incurr you other Danger than of the forfeit was agreed on, to those to whom you have made it, who may Dispence. For every one may depart with his own Right, though none with anothers. *Again*, if Pride, Avarice, Malice are not punished by Humane Laws of the first sort as severely as Theft, *&c.* So neither are they in the present World by the *Divine*, which yet

Regard God; and it is because they have not that Malignant Influence upon the Publick, which Theft and others like it have, and consequently, that in that Respect they are not so Evil. But Thirdly, though the measure of Punishment be taken as you see I grant in part it is, from the Influence that crimes may have upon the peace, and interest of the Community, yet it *follows not* but that such Punishment inflicted, may be Vindictive. And Vindictive 'tis, for God ordained it. And he ordaineth greater Punishment for such than other crimes, for that they having Tendency to Ruine and Dissolve Common-wealths, which it is as well his Care, as great Concernment to maintain and uphold, are more offensive and provoking to Him, than Others. *Nihil est* (sayes *Cicero*) *illi Principi* Deo *qui omnem hunc mundum regit*, (*quod quidem in terris fiat*) acceptius *quam Concilia, Cœtusque hominum jure sociati, quæ* Civitates *appellantur.*

Cicero in Somn. Scip.

And

And so much for the Second Head.

I am now in the Third Place *to shew the kind and species of Eternal Punishments, whether they be* Τιμωρίαι, Κολάσεις or παραδείγματα. Whether they are meer *Revenges*, in satisfaction and contentment of Divine Justice and Anger; or *Castigations*, intended only to Reform and amend the punish'd; or in fine, *Examples*, design'd to Edifie the standers by, and make them Careful what they do.

And to be plain, I hold *Eternal Punishments* now threatned, and One Day to be inflicted on the Wicked that despise them; all *Vindictive*, or *Effects of Wrath*; And that the great Design and End of God in them is to Rescue his engaged Honour and Glory, and to satisfie and please himself in Trophies of his Justice, and in Triumphs over vanquisht Enemies.

Now that Eternal Punishments are principally, if not solely designed

for the *Honor*, Glory, Triumph of the Great God, is evident, in that the *day of Judgement* (wherein the sinner shall be damned to them,) is the *last day*; when all Administration, Government and Rectory shall cease, and be no more; And consequently cannot be intended either in favour of the punished themselves, or for Examples to others.

Perhaps some who love *Hypotheses*, as many do in this too Curious Age; will tell you, that the Eternal Punishments and Torments of the Damned *are Examples unto Saints in Glory*, and that they are designed as a *means* to settle and establish them in that condition; it not being to be thought that any in it can *incline to change*, when they shall ever have before their Eyes so Dire *Examples* of changing. And *Socrates* in *Plato*, who makes the damn'd in Hell Examples unto those in Purgatory, is in part of this Opinion, Οἱ δ' ἂν τὰ ἴσχατα ἀδικήσωσιν, (sayes he) καὶ δὶ τοιούτων ἀδικήματα ἀνίατοι γένωνται,

Soc. apud Plat. in Gorgiâ.

καὶ

καὶ διὰ τούτων τὰ παραδείγματα λέγεται. καὶ ἄνοι, ἀνοὶ μὲν ἔκεινοι εἰσὶν, ἔτι ἀνίατοι ὄντες· ἀνοὶ δὲ ἐκείνοι, οἱ τούτους ὁρῶντες διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τὰ μέγιστα, καὶ ἐσχατωτάτας, καὶ φοβερώτατα πάντα πάντων καὶ ἀεὶ χρόνου,——*But others are extreamly wicked, and by Reason of their wickedness become* incurable. *Of these, Examples are made, who indeed being incurable, receive themselves no advantage and benefit, yet* others do, *who see them suffering for their sins, the most extream, most sharp, and most tremendous torments, and that to* Eternity.

And for *confirmation* of it, it may be colourably offer'd, that the *Devil* who affected to leave his first Habitation, and to change it for another, had not had an instance then of that Exorbitancy and folly in any kind; nor had *Adam*, whose Easie Nature was abused by that Serpent into a like Extravagancy and weakness with his, then had one in his own. For had either of them had an Example, it is to be presum'd, he

he would have found therein a Perfect Cure for *Curiosity*, that Impotent and Fond Emotion, which prov'd so Fatal to both.

I say *Curiosity*, which I apply as well to Faln *Angels*, as to Faln *Adam*, because it seemeth not unlikely, an *Unhappy Curiosity of knowing this Inferiour World*, and perhaps of making an Experiment of Misery and Evil, whereof hitherto they had but heard, that rather than *Pride*, or any Impotent and senseless Ambition of being either Equal or Superiour to their Maker (as the most think;) or, (as *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* do) Their *Envy* at the Honour and Happiness of man was the *Lust* inclining them to leave their First Habitation, and to exchange't for Another. This was that which made them Descend, they were disposed to *try* those other Regions. And Really the History of their Fall or Descent, as it stands on Record in the Sacred Volume, which is not much unlike what *Socrates* in *Plato* hath

Socrat. and Plat. in Phedon.

hath concerning it, countenanceth this Opinion, it being said in *Jude*, *that they kept not their* Original and *first state* [ἀρχὴν] but (which is added Exegetically) that [as Persons not contented with it] *they left their proper Habitation.* In doing which, as they committed Sin and Evil, so they found its Punishment: God for that Extravagance and Weakness (of theirs) both Excluding them for ever from Heaven, and converting the Place they so affected to be in, into a Hell to them, 2 *Pet.* 2. Jude 6.

This is the less improbable, for that they tempted *Eve* and *Adam* with the same consideration, *you shall be like to Elohim*; presuming (as it may be rationally thought) that that was likely to become the most Efficacious and Successful bait unto others, that had proved but too Powerful a One unto themselves. They by *Elohim* but meaning themselves, which yet was understood by *Adam* (probably as they would have it)

it) to signifie God. Thus the Devil put a Fallacy and Cheat upon our first Parents, and for that is called a *Lyar* from the Beginning. He Equivocated with them. You shall be as *Elohim*, [They understood as God; the Devil meant as his Fellows:] and wherein as *Elohim*, but by knowing by their own Experience Good and Evil; and truly so they did, by woful Experience; they knew Good in Paradise, and Evil out of it; As the Devils knew Good in Heaven, and Evil in Hell. But this by the way, to Return.

But though another might presume to bottom the Eternal standing of the Good Angels, on the Dismalness of that Condition, which they see the Faln Ones have plung'd themselves into, by leaving their first Habitation; and who would try again, or wish to have Experience of Hell, Evil, Misery in himself, that has seen, or still sees so dreadful an Experiment thereof in others? And he might also think himself

himself as able to account in like manner, for that eternal confirmation of the glorified Saints in Heaven, by the tremendous observation of the Dire Examples of the Damned in Hell, eternally depending in their eyes. I say, though another would account and reckon thus, *yet I dare not:* There is in my Judgement an Infinitely higher *ground* than this, both of the Fixation and Establishment of Glorified Saints and of standing Angels. For (as I take it) it is Incorporation and Ingraffment of the former, and also of the latter into Jesus Christ, and the Inhabitation and Indwelling of the Great Eternal God in them, as in his own house, that doth Establish and Confirm them; it being the Prime Design of God in all that has been, and all that shall be done in the World, but to build unto himself a Spiritual House, and Temple wherein he may Reside for ever; *whose House ye are.* Christ is Master-Builder, Ministers Inferiour

Builders,

Builders, the work both of Christ and Ministers is Edification and Building. *To whom coming as to a living stone disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of* God, *Elect and Precious, you also as lively stones, are* built up a Spiritual House.

By this you see Eternal Punishments are not designed for Example, much less for Castigation and Amendment of the Punished. Hell is not a Purgatory, *as* the Tree falleth, *so* it lyeth: Judgement is the Final and Conclusive Act of dispensations: No, Eternal Punishments are neither Castigations, nor Examples, but meer Revenges, intended to Assert Divine Honour, to satisfie Justice, and in a word, intended to remove away from God, all that Dishonour and Contempt, that hath been put upon him by sinners.

And this also was the Notion that the *Antients* had of the last Judgement, for they held the Justice of the great Judge *Rhadamanthus*

to be Avenging and *Vindictive.*

So *Aristotle,*

—καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον τοῦτο λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ Ῥαδαμάνθυος δίκαιον,

Εἴκα τοῦτο τὸ κ' ἴρεξε, δίκα τ' ἔθεα γένοιτο.

And they seem to call this the Justice of Rhadamanthus εἴκα τοῦτο———. *If any be Requited in the same kind, or suffer what he has done, he is served Right.*

Arist. Eth. l. 5. c. 8.

And so *Hesiod,*

Τῷ δὲ τε Ζεὺς ἀσσόν ἀγαλεῖ, ὃς κ' ἐπιτέλεωται

Ἔργον ἐν τ' ἀδίκῳ χαλεπῶς ἐπιδευέα δμοκλῶ.

Hesiod. op. & dies. l. 1.

with such an one God is Angry, who in the End *will take severe Vengeance for all Iniquities.*

But this is a thing that seems so harsh to you on many accounts, that to settle your belief concerning it, I must now perform what I promis'd in the **fourth** place; namely, *answer the Arguments you apprehend to militate, and fight against it:*

Hobb: de corp. poli. part. 1. c 3. s. 10.

it: and first for Mr. *Hobbs*'s he saith, *Revenge when it considereth the offence past, is nothing else but present* Triumph and Glory, *it directeth to* no end, *and what directeth to no end, is therefore Unprofitable, and consequently the Triumph of Revenge* is Vain-glory, *and whatsoever is vain, is against reason.* Thus Mr. *Hobbs*.

But 'tis as easie a matter to defend my self from Mr. *Hobbs* in this Particular, as to Repulse a weak and tir'd Assailant: for though I do acknowledge that Revenge as it respects offences past, is *Glory* and Triumph; for therefore I asserted that God did Glory and Triumph in his Revenge [He *Rejoyces over his Adversaries*:] Yet that his Glory, Triumph and Rejoycing over them, because it is not directed and referred to a Further End, should therefore be *Vain*, is inconsequent. For it is a most improper expression to say an End is vain; an End as such hath no End. Nor can there be

an

an Infinite Progression in Ends, any more than in Efficients, and though *Destinates* are said to be in vain, if either they are insufficiently, or not at all referred to their Ends, yet that which is no Destinate, but is the Ultimate and furthest End of all that are, is not vain, though it cannot be referred to another. Now Divine *Glory* is the Utmost End of all things, God himself in all he does referreth to it, and obligeth us to do so in all we do, so that although it cannot be denyed but that *Humane Glorying*, or the Boasting of men in themselves, because it is not (as it ought to be) and indeed cannot be directed to the Divine Glory, which is the Ultimate End, is therefore vain; yet that *Divine Glory* and Triumph it self, which is the matter of the greatest satisfaction of God, and is the Utmost and furthest End he can propose to himself, who ultimately minds himself, and cannot possibly do otherwise, that that is vain, because it hath no further

End, is not only a Blasphemous, but a foolish Assertion. The last End can have no further End; indeed no end can as an end, because as an End it is last. Gods Glory is simply the last End; *no flesh shall Glory in his Presence, let him that glories, glory in the Lord.* The glorying of men is vain Glory, because not referred as it ought to be to God; but the glory of God is solid and substantial glory, because the End of all.

Again, But you will tell me out of *Grotius* in the Place before cited, *that God* delighteth not *in the Death or Punishment of those on whom it is inflicted, that is, to use the terms of* another *Learned Person*; of whom I also made some mention before, that *as a Governour or Rector he delights not in it*, as expedient for himself, *and that because* the Right of Punishment *is not existent for the sake of him* that Punisheth, *but for a smuch as all Punishment regards the* Common-weal *or Society*; *it is existent for the sake of* that.

But

But I have already proved, that the *Obligation* unto Punishment resulteth not solely, nor principally from the Injury the Publick may sustain, by Impunity of Crimes, but from the *wrong*, and Injury and *Contempt of God* that is in them; which whosoever seriously considers that Societies themselves are for God, and that Punishment it self is in the Nature of it vindictive, cannot easily deny. Temporal Rewards and Punishments as well as Magistrates and Governments, are Divine Ordinances, and therefore directed to Divine Glory, as to their last end. God is the Soveraign Rector, and designs his own Honor, as well as mans Good. He is *Dishonoured*, as well as the Common-weal *endangered*, if Punishments be not duly Executed. For this cause he threatned the *Israelites*, that if they found not out the Sacrilegious Person, and Punisht him, He would forsake and leave them.

And for *that* that it is said in Sacred Scripture, that *God delighteth not in the Death of a sinner*; the meaning is not *that*, if sinners will be Obstinate, Perverse and Refractory, he can't derive his satisfaction from his Justice, in *rejoycing* over them to do them evil, for that he can, according to the Proverb, τῶν ἐνὸς μάλιστα. But that he *deferreth* and delayeth Punishment, and with much Patience, Long-suffering and forbearance endureth all their miscarriages, and all the Insolencies of the wicked; as who should say, He would rather they would turn from their Wickedness and Folly, and live, than Persist therein and dye. So *he waiteth to be gracious*. The *Long-suffering of God is* Salvation.

Vid. Erasm. Adag. tit. ult. Mal.

It is in this *sense* that God is said not to Punish and correct the children of men *willingly*, *viz.* That he *beareth with them long*; for in common language those Expressions are Equivalent and much the same,

same, Ὁ Ζεὺς πολλὰ χρόνῳ εἰς τὰς διφθέρας, *it is long before* Jupiter *inspects his Note-book*, and Ἄκων μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς οἶδε, *Jupiter* unwillingly *takes notice of it:* and so *Erasmus* understands them, who tells us, *Qui sero dat, aut punit*, gravatim *id facere videtur*, *That whoso deferreth either to oblige or punish*, *He seems* unwillingly *to do it.* It is thus that God delighteth not in the death of a sinner, and that He willeth it not; *comparatively* he wou'd rather that he should Repent and Live; and *interpretatively*, he delayeth to inflict Punishment, as it were expecting an occasion, that he might with Honor omit it.

Chariz. de Inaq. Deus. f. 110.

Erasm. in Adag. tit. ult. Mal.

And this in answer to the General Exceptions you put in, namely, The seeming *Improportion betwen a Finite Transgression and an Infinite Punishment*, and the *Inconsistency of Eternal Punishment with the End of Punishment*; As for the more **Particular ones**, *I shall in their order now consider them*,

and **first** for that of the **odd Circumstances** of *the most that are Christians.* You say,

Not to urge that the most that are Christians *lye and live under such* odd Circumstances, *that they are very near an impossibility wholly to subdue, and suppress the influences of Sense, and yet must they be Plagued or Punisht with Unspeakable and Eternal Tortures?*

I *answer* **no**, for 'tis impossible for any while immur'd in the Body, *wholly* to subdue the Influences of sense, and should none arrive at Heaven, but who had first arrived to a *State of Perfection* here on Earth, Heaven would be empty, and Hell full: That Perfection which is to be our aim on earth, cannot be our attainment, or our atchievement but in Heaven. Here sin will be Indwelling in us as long as there is flesh incompassing us. It is not Perfect, but Sincere Obedience that is exacted by Grace.

For,

For, that *Perfection cannot be attained in the present world* by any that descend from *Adam*, is evident: in that **Concupiscence** or *Lust* is *Original*, Native, inlayed with our very Tempers; We are *begotten* in sin, and in the Fervency or *Heat of Lust* and Appetite, and consequently having such *Impressions* made upon us in our very Rise and Conception, and augmented, and improved in us by our after Acts, 'tis as impossible for us totally to rid our selves of these, as of any other Instincts, and Propensions of Nature. We may check them and restrain them; but cannot destroy and eradicate them. This Body must be new-moulded, new-cast, before it can be wholly freed of the lusts that infect it. Therefore the *Apostle* when he would be Discharged from his sin, thus expresses his Option, *who will deliver me from the* Body *of this Death!*

I know that *Jesus Christ was a Man*, and that he lived in the midst

of Temptations without the Danger and the Power of any, and that he is the Great Example of Divine Life; but I also know the Devil who coming unto us doth find so much, coming unto him, *found nothing in him.* For he not being begotten or *conceived* in the Ordinary way of Generation, as all others are, with the *common Fervency* and Heat of Lust or Appetite, but on a Pure and cold *Virgin*, and by the Holy Ghost, had no Original Concupiscence or Lust to be awakened and excited in him, as in us, by the many Objects presented daily to the sense. Now external causes work little without there be internal ones to co-operate, *Inefficax est causa Procatarctica sine Proegumena.*

But to return, *Again, the* **Christian Life** *here is compared to imperfect things, to Fighting*, to Running, to Growing, to Walking, in a word (compared) to *Motions*, and what is Motion but Imperfect Act, *Actus entis in Potentiâ, quatenus*

nus in potentiâ. What is in Motion is but in tendency unto Perfection, but hath not yet arrived to it. In Motion there are two terms. The Term from which, and that in this is here on Earth: And the Term to which, and this is in Heaven, and between these is the Motion.

Truly Sir, *Our Holiness is not our* **Righteousness** *to justifie our Persons*; 'tis too Imperfect and Defective to do that, 'Tis not our Inherent but Adherent Righteousness, not the Righteousness within us, but the Righteousness imputed to us, that must bottom all our Hopes; And I the rather say this, because I am a little jealous (by reason of the supposition on which the Argument you urge is grounded) that you hold the Opinion which is now the Ascendent, That *Imputed Righteousness is Phancy, and that it was not the Design of Jesus Christ, nor of the Gospel to advance and set up that, but only that which inheres in us.*

Were

Were I sure of what I but suspect that you are indeed of this Opinion, and that your Argument hath Aspect that way, I should more fully set my self to oppose it, and to establish that Egregious Verity and Truth of Christian Doctrine concerning *Righteousness imputed*, as One that ministers as much unto the Comfort, and Repose and Quiet of Conscience, as any other. But since I am not sure, I shall say the less of it now.

Only thus much I will say, that certainly *the great Design of God in sending Jesus Christ into the world, was to make* **His Righteousness**, the Righteousness of God Illustrious, in opposition unto that of *man*, or the Righteousness of the **Law**; there being Nothing within the compass of the Humane Understanding that can more contribute to illustrate and set off the Infinite and Transcendent Majesty of the great God, as to his Wisdom, Goodness and Justice, than the *Declaration* he hath

hath made from Heaven of his Righteousness in Jesus Christ, that he is **Just and a Justifier**; *Just* to Punish Christ that assumed on himself the sin of man, and a *Justifier* of those that are in Christ, whose Punishment he bore.

The *Inherent Righteousness*, *that* Rommists *and others so insist upon, is nothing as a Righteousness* to boast of, but that *Pharisaical* one displayed by our Blessed Saviour in the Instance of it which he gives in *Luke*, I *thank* thee O God that I *am not* this nor that, but *do* this and that: Wherein there is an Acknowledgement of God as Author and Inspirer of all the Good he doth, but withal an Exaltation and Advancement of self, *I thank* thee, there is the *One*; I *am no* Extortioner, no Adulterer, nor Unjust: I *fast* twice in the Week, I give Tythes of all that I possess, there is the *Other*. It was very well done that he fasted, that he gave Alms, *&c.* but yet not so well as to Incourage him to boast therein

Luke 18. 10, 11, 12.

therein before God.

Verily the *Great Design of Jesus Christ and Christianity is not to exalt, but to depress* self; He that glories must not glory in the *Flesh*, not in any thing he is, not in any thing he doth, though by *Divine Assistance*. For by *that* must all have been done, that either was or could be done by *Adam* in Innocence, it must have been done by Gods Assistance; and yet for all that, *Room* enough there was for Boasting and Glorying, then in that Transaction, whereas in this of Grace, or in the Dispensation of the Life and Immortality by Jesus Christ, there is Absolutely none at all.

No, the *Design* of Christ and Christianity is instead of *Pharisaical and Legal* Righteousness, which consisteth in our doing and performing of the works of the Law (as by Divine Assistance and enablement we can) to Institute *another*, that of the Son of God, the Lord our Righteousness, who is appointed to invest

invest and cover with *his*, all those that sensible of their own Unrighteousness and Imperfection, do apply themselves unto him for it. *Except your Righteousness exceeds the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees* [which consists in their own doing, *&c.*] And the *Christians* doth Exceed it, his is the Lord Christ, it consists not in his own doing for himself, which is but short and imperfect, but in Christs doing for him, which is full and Perfect.

That it doth so is evident, in that the *Publican* in whom the *Christian* Righteousness is represented, hanging down his head, as one *ashamed of* himself, and ashamed to come into the Divine Presence, not boasting of performances and works, but confessing and acknowledging of sins, humbly imploring Grace and Mercy, was *rather Justified than the Pharisee*, that is, according to the Scripture Language, was Justified, and not the Pharisee. The like of *Paul*, who had as much according to the Law

Luke 18. 13, 14.

Law to boast of as another, yet in the matter of Justification, when he comes to make Reflection on his best Performances, he in comparison of Christ, esteems them all but *Dung* and *Dross*; and is so far from standing on them in point of Righteousness, that he first renounceth all Pretensions of his own thereto, and then intirely devolves himself on Jesus Christ for it. Such is the Christians Righteousness, 'tis not his Holiness within, but Christ without that Justifies him.

This is that *method* of *Justification* of sinners that was contrived by Divine Counsel and Goodness, and that is displayed in the *Gospel*; God imputeth not sin unto believing sinners, but imputeth to them the Righteousness and Sufferings of the Lord Christ; he reckoneth as if sinners suffered in their own persons, and did what Jesus Christ hath done and suffered for them; and so acquitteth them and sets them free, as those that by their Surety have contented

tented Justice, and satisfied the Law. Thus is Christ *made of God unto us Righteousness*; His Δικαιωμα or Satisfaction to Divine Justice by Suffering (for in this sense I find the word to be often used even in Heathen Writings) as well as his Performance is *Reputed* Ours.

Vid. Methael. in Arist. Moral. l. 5. Cameraar. ad eund.

Nor is this *Licentious Doctrine* and an Inlet to Profaneness, *for what shall we say then, shall we continue in sin that* Grace may abound, *how shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein, know you not*, &c. Rom. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4. *But now being made free from sin, and become servants unto God, you have your fruit unto Holiness, and the End everlasting life*, verse 22. *without Holiness no man shall see God. Faith worketh by Love. If ye love me, keep my Commandments.*

I would have offer'd more on this **Exception**, but that you seem not to insist your self so much upon it. It being **Another** *to which I am proceeding*, that it seems awakens in

you

you far more feeling and more vive Resentments. For so I judge, when I find you saying, **how much more dismal** *and tremendous doth it look, that these People in* America, Japan, China, Lapland, &c. *that lye under an unavoidable Ignorance, I mean morally so, that yet these poor creatures for what they cannot help, shall be cast into Everlasting Darkness*, &c.

Truly Sir, I apprehend not the Reason why you instance in the *Americans*, *Japanese*, *Chinese*, as People lying in a state of Unavoidable and Invincible Ignorance of Jesus Christ, and of the Methods of Salvation, since Jesus Christ is preached among them, though with some mixture, and the Christian Doctrine, if you will believe History, hath been witnessed to among them, as at first it was among others, both by the Martyrdom of those that brought it, and by their Miracles.

You

You know by whose incitement the famous *Francis Xavier* (that Papal Apostle) undertook the *Indian* Expedition for the saving of souls, and what success attended both him and those that followed him in that design in *India*, *China*, *Japan*; whereof you have a large account not only in the *Indian* and *Japanick Epistles*, but also in the Commentaries of *Emannel Acosta*, expresly written on that subject. And how industrious and careful the *Great Bishop* hath been (in this to be commended) to advance the same Design in *America*, and what the setled order for it is, I make no question but you may have read in many, which I might name. But I will not give you the trouble of Reflecting longer on Modern and Recent Accounts, since there are others far more *Antient* by which it may be made appear, that Christ was early preach't among them. But of this you may be pleased to consult *Paget* and *Purchas*, *cum multis aliis*.

You see by this how fair an Opportunity I have to evade, but am not Sophister enough to do so, seeing as you mean the Objection, there is something weighty and momentous in it, namely, that it seemeth *inconsistent with Divine Goodness that poor Creatures lying under unavoidable and invincible Ignorance of Jesus Christ, and of the method of Salvation by him, should be damned to eternal Darkness and sorrow for what they cannot help*, and that to use your own expression, *there are no Reserves for their Acting for an happiness they have no notice of*, &c.

Believe it Sir, it is no easie matter to account for all the *Phenomena* of Providence, and particularly for **This**, of which, when we have said all we can, we cannot say as much in Vindication of Divine Goodness, Justice or Wisdom in it, as God can say in his own. His thoughts, they are as *high above ours, as the Heaven is above the Earth*;

Earth; and what is unaccountable and dazeling to men, is not so to God.

I say not this as if I thought the present Difficulty less accountable than many others, but to let you see I have a right sense and apprehension of its being One; wherein when I have told you what hath satisfied me about it, (for I have had the same Perplexities, and the same scruples) you will happily receive what also may conduce to satisfie you, both from the Holy Scriptures and from Reason.

In order hereunto I shall by way of Premise, explicate and settle a Verity that ought to be receiv'd by all Christians as Fundamental to their being so, namely, *That there is no Salvation but by Jesus Christ*; which established, I will in satisfaction of the scruple evince,

First, *That God is not obliged by his Goodness to dispense an equal light to all mankind; but that being Free and Soveraign in all com-*

manications of his Grace, he doth inequally dispense it, to manifest himself so. But yet, that

Secondly, *To whomsoever he affordeth least light, he affords enough to leave them inexcusable and without cause of complaint; because he doth afford them more than they improve, or use.* And

Thirdly, What in this occasion will abundantly illustrate and set off Divine Goodness, as well as Justice; *he requireth not from men according to the light and means they have not, but according unto what they have, expecting less from them to whom he hath afforded less, and only more from those who have the opportunities and the means of doing more.*

And **First**, By way of **Premise**; I lay it down as Fundamental in the Christian Doctrine and Profession, That *there* is *no salvation but* by *Jesus Christ*, for it is he the Son of God *that* hath assumed humane Nature; *that* hath satisfied in it the Divine Justice; *that* by his

Obedi-

Obedience and Death, hath rendred God Attonable to man; and *that* hath procured all the terms (whatever they be) on which Divine Majesty is pleased to transact again with us, and to receive us into favour. *He* is the Prince of peace, that Glorious Intercessor, that hath gone between the wrath of God and us, but for whom Apostate *Adam* had been lost for ever, and there had been no more reserves for Happiness, or overtures of Grace for him and his Descendants, than for the faln and Apostate Angels. Christ is the *Foundation*-Stone, the *Chief Corner*-Stone in this building. *God so lov'd the world, that he gave* his Son: *This is my beloved* Son, through whom *I am well pleased. Sacrifice and Offerings thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared for me. Lo* I come. *The Lamb slain from* the beginning *of the world.*

This I take it is the meaning of that known expression, *There is no other name given under Heaven by* Act. 4. 11.

which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus, viz. That no other Person is to be acknowledged to have the Honour of being the *Procurer* of Peace and Reconciliation for us with the Divine Majesty, and of having *marked* out the way to glory, but only Jesus Christ; it being too important and momentous an Affair for any but *Emmanuel*, or Jesus, one that is God as well as man, to undertake to manage. For who but *God-man* could dare to go between God and man? *Thou shalt call his name* Jesus, *for he shall* save *his people: that it might* be fulfilled, *They shall call his name* Emmanuel; *which is by Interpretation, God with us.* The **Connection** must be noted, it evinces that he only could be *Jesus*, that was *Emmanuel*: thou shalt call his name *Jesus*——that it might be *fulfill'd*——they shall call his name *Emmanuel*; as if *Jesus* and *Emmanuel* were but *One* name. *There is no other name* given, but the name of Jesus, *whereby*

Mat. 1.23, 21, 23.

whereby we can be saved: It is not the name of *Moses*, not of *Pythagoras*, nor *Plato*, not of *Mahomet*, or of any other meer man; these are not names that merit this honour. It is *Jesus* is the only name; it must be **God with us** that saves us.

The *Practical Belief of This is called* **faith in Christ**; and is a thing so *absolutely* necessary to salvation, that without it 'tis impossible to please God, or be accepted with him. But as absolutely necessary to salvation, as belief is, it is not so in every *Degree*, or every *Act* of it; there are Degrees of Faith, and there are several Acts; there is a **Formal** and explicite apprehension and belief of this Truth in so many terms, that there is *One God* the Father Almighty, Propitiated and Attoned towards men; and that there is *One Mediator*, Jesus Christ God-man that hath attoned and propitiated him. And as there is a Formal and Explicit, so there is a **Virtual**

and Implicit Apprehension and Belief of it, which he has that believes *that* God is; *that* he is Gracious and Benign; *that* he pardons sin; and *that* he is a *Rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* And one may as well implicitly and virtually Believe as Will. For as he implicitly and virtually doth *will* the means, although he doth not actually Reflect and think upon them, that effectually doth will the End; so he that does explicitly believe that God is gracious and well-pleased, He doth *implicitly believe* in Christ, in whom alone he is so; the explicit belief of the Conclusion, is the implicit and virtual belief of the Premises.

This Virtual and implicit Faith *he* may be said to have, *who feareth God* and *worketh Righteousness*, whether he be Jew or Gentile; for he that feareth God and worketh Righteousness, cometh unto God [by doing so,] and he that *cometh unto God*, must needs *believe that God*

God is, and *that he is a Rewarder.* Heb. 11. 6.
A Faith that many of the *Gentiles* were as well the Owners of as the Jews, for which they were accepted of God: So *Peter*, *Of a truth, I perceive that God is* no Respecter of Persons, *but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness, is* Accepted *with him.* And doubtless there were many *Cornelius's*; and *John* is plain, *He that worketh Righteousness, is* born of God. Such Gentiles are called οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεὸν, The Fearers of God, *Acts* 12. 16. 26. and σεβόμενοι, or Worshippers, *v.* 43.

Acts 10. 34, 35.

1 John 2. 29.

I pray Sir consider *Rahab* the Harlot, and *what kind* of *Faith it was for which* she has the Honour of a Monument unto this day? and for which her self and all her household were saved, viz. *The Lord your God is a God in the Heaven above, and in the Earth beneath:* This was her *Faith*; and the *Ground* and Basis of it, what was it but Report and Fame? *we have* heard *how the*

Heb. 11. 31.

Josh. 2. 9, 10, 11.

Lord

Lord dryed up the water of the Red Sea for you, when you came out of Ægypt, *and what God did unto the two Kings of the Amorites*; We have heard. All heard, but she only believed savingly; and therefore *hid* the Spies, which the rest would *kill*. This was her Faith, she had heard of God, the True God; and who had not? and she believed that God was, and that he was a Rewarder, therefore she hid his Servants, which was her work of Righteousness. All believed and trembled, *we* heard and our hearts melted, which is the Faith of Devils; but she believed and *wrought* Righteousness, she hid the Spies. Her's was a saving, because *a living*, *a* working Faith.

'Tis true; some of the *old believers* are Illustrious Instances of Faith, and of its vigor and power; for though the day of Christ were far off, yet they saw it clearly, and distinctly; *Abraham*, sayes Christ, *saw my day* [though] *far off*. So

Jacob,

Jacob, The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until* Shiloh *come, unto him shall the gathering of People be*, and so *Job, I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall behold him standing on the earth.*

But yet I find them not *explicitly a Praying in the name of Christ*, or doing any thing therein. *So, hitherto* (says he unto his own Disciples) *you have asked nothing in* my name; nor were they yet obliged, since he was not to be *so* exalted, but after he had drunk of the brook in the way, it was then the Comforter the blessed Spirit was to come, and give his Testimony for him in the Hearts of men, after which His Name was to be honoured. *When I am lifted up, I will draw all men unto me. In that day you shall ask in my Name.* Before all was done in the Name of God, but since the Comforter, all in Christs Name. There is no other *Name* under Heaven *given*, that is, no other name

John 16. 24.

John 16. 26.

name of any Person on earth is appointed in which we can approach to God, and so be saved. Indeed the Antients prayed towards the *Debir* or Oracle, or Ark which typified Christ, and so *implicitly* and figuratively prayed in his Name, but yet explicitly and formally they did not.

I confess there are not a few, both Pious and Learned that herein differ from me, who believe the *Antients* prayed Formally and Explicitly in the name of Christ, and who apprehend themselves abundantly confirmed in that belief, by one expression in *Daniel*, *Now therefore O God, hear the Prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy Sanctuary* that lyeth Desolate, *for the Lords sake*; for the Lords sake, that is, say they, for Christs sake. But to omit that *for the Lords sake* may be refer'd to desolate, as it is in some Translations, wherein the *Comma* is not put to *desolate*, but *to Sanctuary*;

Dan. 9.17.

as

as if the sense were, that for the Lords sake the Sanctuary was desolate: I say omitting that, and taking it for granted to referr to *hear*, *and lift up the light of thy countenance*; yet whosoever doth compare it with the following Verses, must needs acknowledge, that for the Lords sake is for Gods sake, for his Name sake, his Honours sake, it being so explained, v. 19. *O Lord hear, O Lord forgive, O Lord consider and do it, defer not* for thine own sake, *oh my* God; *for* thy Name *is called upon this City, and upon this People.* Dan. 9.19.

And *thus much by way of* **Premise**, *I now apply my self to give a more particular* **answer** *to the Exception*, by making evident and clear the several Propositions which I mentioned for that end, and which evinced and made out, will abundantly illustrate this matter, and absolutely satisfie your mind, in a scruple which cannot but be much abated already.

And

And First, That *God is not obliged by his* Goodness *to afford equal light to all.* For though Divine Goodness be a Perfection essentially inherent in him, yet in the *Exercises* of it he is *Free* and Soveraign; the emanations of that Glorious Attribute not being as some imagine them, as Unrestrainable and necessary as those of Light from the Sun, and Heat from Fire. No, it is as well a great Truth as commonly received, and that the Divine Goodness is seated in the Divine *will*, and is (as it were) a certain *mode* of it; The Goodness of Almighty God, it is his Εὐδοκία or Good pleasure, Good-will, and consequently being but a certain kind or manner of will, must in all the exercises of it be as free as this is. Divine Goodness is nothing but the *Divine Good-will*, or a Propensity in the Divine Will to be doing all the Good that in his Infinite Wisdom he sees meet.

Now the *will* of God (if to discourse thereof as of Mans, be not

too

too great Presumption) is not a Necessary and Determined, but a *Free* and Undetermined Principle; and the *Nature* of it as to Liberty and Freedom, consisteth in an *Unrestrained, Unconfined Amplitude of Acting*. Whereof he cannot doubt that seriously considers what (for another Purpose) I noted in my former Treatise, *viz.* That as what is *lower* on the Scale of Being, and more immersed in matter, is more *confined* and determined; so that what is *higher*, and superior, and more spiritual, is in proportion according to the measure of its advancement on the *Scale*, more undetermined and *free*. For thus, a little to illustrate and set out the matter in Examples, *Plants* and Vegetables are less determined in respect of Action, than are the *Minerals* and Fossils. *Again*, the meerly Sensitive or Irrational *Animals* are less determined than the Vegetables; *Men* less than they; and not improbable, the *Angels* less than men; But *God* who is above them

them all, a Pure Act, possesses *Amplitude* of Action, as Infinitely much transcending all theirs as is his Being. All Determination and confinement is from *Matter*, all Indetermination and Unconfinement from *Form*. God is therefore most Free and Undetermined, because most Formal and most Pure Act.

But by this *Infinite Amplitude and Liberty of Action*, I would not have you understand me to intend *wilfulness*; as if the Will of God, which is the Principle and Rise of all External Actions, were *meer* will, and that in that Will, there were not also Wisdom, Justice, Goodness and Holiness. For it were to have a most Unhappy and mistaken Apprehension of me, as if I coin'd a Notion of the great God, and of the freedom of his Will, that could not be endur'd by any that did either know, or fear him.

No, But by this Amplitude of Action, or Liberty of the Divine Will,

Will, I mean no other but a *most illimited Capacity and Power in God, to do what seemeth* best *and most* agreeable *unto himself to do*; and that is *best* and most agreeable for him to do, which is most convenient and congruous, and most becoming all his Glorious Attributes, his Wisdom, his Benignity, his Soveraignty, Majesty, *&c.* as who would say, it is a Free, Unconfined, Unnecessitated, Undetermined Power of doing or not doing what he *pleases.* Now he doth what he pleaseth, that does whatever pleases him; and what can we imagine to please God, but what is (most) agreeable and congruous to him? and what is (most) agreeable and congruous to him, but what suiteth (best) with all his Attributes? So that it is not meer will that is the Principle or Reason of the Divine Actions, but, as the Holy Scriptures happily express it, it is *counsel*, counsel of Will. His Will is *will*, it is *Soveraign* and *Free*, but it is al-

so *Wise*, and *Good*, and *Just*, and *Holy*. God does what he will, and because he will. But yet whatever he does is Wise, and Good, and Holy, because his Will is so.

But you will say, I grant enough for your Argument as now I have explained my self, for if *the meer and naked* Will *of God be not the sole Reason or Rule of his Acting, but that his other Attributes do influence and guide him in it, and so his* Goodness and Benignity *doth challenge some share; then seeing there is no Respect of mens Persons with him, but that in his sight all are* equal; and also seeing Goodness *obligeth not to make a* Difference, *where there is none already, 'Tis Unconceivable how* any *should be made, and how he should not deal* alike benignly [*be Bountiful and Good alike*] *to All.*

I answer; *That indeed Benignity and Goodness hath a* Great, *though not the* sole *hand in moving* or inclining the Divine Will; *that* God

is

is no Respecter of mens Persons; *that* both Jew and Gentile are as One to him:. No humane Qualities of Wit and Ingenuity, of Learning, of Beauty, of Civility, or the like, which rather are Effects than Motives of Divine Favour, do at all affect or move him. *Further*, nor will I deny, that Divine Goodness and Benignity as such, obligeth not God to Discriminate or make a Difference between Man and Man; but then, as it obligeth not to make a Difference, so it obligeth not to make *none*, but it leaves him *free* to follow the motions of his other Glorious Attributes, such as either Wisdom, Soveraignty, or some other of his admirable Excellencies do inspire and infuse him with. But chiefly his *Soveraignty*; for all his *Practical* and Active Attributes (for such I call these which (seem to) have an Influence upon him in his Acting) are all WILL. Soveraignty hath Place in All. And this brings me home.

For do you ask me, *how it cometh to pass there is a* Difference *made between man and man, Nation and Nation, in respect of the* Light *and Knowledge of God?* I answer, God makes it, who dealeth not alike to all; and do you further ask me, *why he dealeth not alike to all?* I answer further, it is to shew he is not *bound* to do what he does to any; and that if he sheweth mercy, it is because he *will* shew mercy, *not* from any obligation on him whatsoever, much less any engagement from the Object, but *ex mero motu*, of his own alone Election and Choice.

It is for this Reason that he so delighteth in Election and Reprobation, that he *not only* sheweth them in *mankind* among particular and individual Persons, he chooseth *Jacob*, and rejecteth *Esau*; and among Nations, he choosed the *Jews*, and he refused the *Gentiles*; *of all the Nations of the earth, I have* chosen you; and among the *Gentiles*, he en-

enlightens some sooner, others later, some more, some less: *but also* in the kind of *Angels*, thus he elected those that stood, and he rejected those that did not: All is to shew *how Soveraign* and how Free he is, in whatsoever he doeth. Hence the Scriptures speak so much of *Election*, and of Gods *Purpose* according to the Election, and of the *Good pleasure*, and of the *will* of God.

Thus God in all the Exercises of his *Grace* is *Free*, not only from all Determination and Necessity of Nature, but from all *engagement* by any foreign and extrinsecal Respects whatever in the Object; and it is to manifest himself *so*, that he so diversly dispenses it; to some he manifesteth more, to some less, to those in one way, and to others another; All according to the Counsel and Advisement of his own Will, and not according to the Humor, or Deserts of ours.

So much for *the first Proposition*; *but* **Secondly**, *Though God dispens-*

eth not an equal *light to all, yet to whom he hath dispensed least, he hath dispensed* enough, *if not to save them,* (*which many of the Antient and most Learned Fathers thought*) *yet he has to leave them* Inexcusable, and without Defence, as our Apostle expresses it,

Rom.1.20. — εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους.

Certain it is, as I proposed in the first Assertion, That the *Dispensations* of Almighty God in point of Light and opportunities of Grace, are *not equal* every where; for if they were, there would be as little *Beauty*, Ornament and Lustre, as *Variety* in them, since 'tis in the Moral World, as in the Natural, wherein Day and Night, and Diverse Graduations of the Light and Darkness in them, are necessary to compose it, and to set it off with some Advantage and Beauty.

But though there be a Diverse and *inequal* Dispensation of the Light, some have more, and some have less, yet so Extensive is Divine Good-

Goodness, and so large, that all have some, and that some (as little as it may be) *Enough* to silence Obloquy and Contradiction: A Truth that cannot be Refused in consideration of the *Antient Gentiles*, with more reason than it can be doubted in respect of the *Antient Jews*, who had the Oracles of God.

For the *Antient Gentiles* (for so I call those before Christ, in contradistinction to the *Jews*) though they had not *Moses*, and the Law and Prophets to instruct them in the method of salvation; yet they had *Tradition*, and they had *Philosophers* and Philosophy; The *Persians* had their *Magi*; the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*, their *Chaldeans*; the *Indians*, their *Gymnosophists* and *Brachmans*; the *Celts* and *Gauls*, their *Druides* and *Semnothei*; the *Greeks*, their *Philosophers*; in a word, All of them they had *Divines* and *Prophets*, who were Preachers to them of the fear of God, and of Righteousness. And you know I have alrea-

Vid. Laert. in Proem.

Vid. infra.

dy evinced in the *Premise*, That to fear God, and work Righteousness, suffices to render one accepted with him, and this *Philosophy* taught.

Now by **Philosophy** I understand not any one kind or *Species* of it, as either the *Barbarian*, or the *Grecian*, the Stoic, the Epicurean, the Platonic, or the Peripatetic, but (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* also doth) *All that Truth* or Verity divided and dispersed among them; and of *this* I say, *It* was a *Ray* or Beam of *Jesus Christ*, the Original Light, [*the Light that enlightneth every one that comes into the world*] afforded to the Gentiles to conduct and guide them to God: and so sayes the Father, Ἔστι δὲ ἡ τε βαρβαρικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία τῆς ἀλήθειας ἀπόσπασμα τινὰ, ἢ ἡ ἀποῤῥοὴ μυθολογεῖται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θείου ἀπόσπασμα τοῦτο. *So both the Barbarian and the Greek Philosophy containeth in it a certain Portion of the Eternal Truth, which it Borrowed not, or derived from the Mythology of* Bacchus, *but from the* The-

Clem. Alex. Lib. Strom.

Theology of the Eternal Word himself. Thus *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and indeed it is the main Design of his *Stromata* [Books he called so, because in them he collected these Dispersed Truths] to manifest the Consonancy and Agreement of the Old Philosophers, with the Verities of the Christian Religion.

I know the Great *Apostle* affixeth on Philosophy an Epithete that seemeth not agreeable to this Assertion, he calls it *Vain Philosophy*, and cautions those he writes to, with very much concern, more than once against it; but who ever well considers that he represents the *Jewish* Ceremonies, which in their Institution were Divine and useful methods for happiness, as beggarly and carnal *Rudiments*, as *Elements* of the World, and under other *hard* names, he will not find himself surprized at his doing the *former*, or necessitated to confine the Philosophy of which he speaks, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* does, to the *Epicurean* that

Col. 2. 8.

Gal. 4. 9.

Clem. Alex. l. 1. Strom.

that denyed Providence, and all Respects and care of God for the World.

For I make no question but whosoever seriously Reminds the Circumstance of Time wherein the Apostle wrote, that it was after the Effusion of the Blessed *Spirit*, and the bringing of the Life and Immortality to light in Jesus Christ, will easily agree that his Principal, if not his sole **Design** in so severely reflecting on the Ceremonies of the *Jews*, and on the Philosophy of the *Gentiles*, was to oblige both the one and the other to abandon and forsake their A, B, C. And *that* since there is a fuller and a clearer Demonstration, or Discovery in the *Gospel* of the way of Life, It is to wean them from those Darker Ones, that serv'd their turn before. And indeed, though God connived at men in the dayes of their *Ignorance*, yet *now* he calleth all to Repent.

And verily it is a great Truth, that

that as *he* would not have the Jewish *Law*, so much less would he have the Gentile Wisdom to supplant the Gospel. All the *Light* before Christ, whether that among the Jews, or that among the Gentiles, was but *Moon*, or *Star-light*, designed only for the *night* preceding; but it is the *Sun* must Rule by *Day*. Now the Gospel *dispensation* is the *Day*, and *Christ* the Sun that makes it; by whose Alone Light we must walk. For as in Nature, the *Light* afforded by the Moon and Stars, which is of great Advantage, and very much administers to our Direction, and Comfort in a Journey by night, yet in the day is *none*; The Moon and Stars that shine by night, and then make other things Visible, they are Invisible themselves, and Dark by day; So in the *Moral* world, not only the *Law* of *Moses* to the Jews, but that *Philosophy* and Wisdom among the Gentiles, that before the coming of the Lord Christ, while it was yet extream

tream Dark, was of extraordinary Use and Benefit, *It* is no longer *now* of any to them, nor to be insisted on, since He is come. For now 'tis *broad Day*. One would be glad of Moon-light, or Star-light, that is to travel by night; but he delires, and is out of his Wits, that would prefer it before the Sun by Day.

By this time, you see how my *Opinion of the Old Philosophy*, that it was a kind of *Star-light* derived from the Sun of Righteousness, and pointing to him, is so far from being in *Derogation* to the Gospel Grace, that *it* rather highly Illustrates and Establishes it; the Philosophers themselves, as well as the Prophets, being (as it were) as so many *Stars* that shined in a Dark Place, and with a borrowed lustre, until (in
2 Pet. 1. 19. *Peters* own expression) the *Day-Star* arose from on high.

But this Assertion, so many prejudices lye against it, is not of a Nature to be entertain'd assoon as presented;

ſented; wherefore I ſhall crave your leave to offer ſomewhat by way of Confirmation, which though I might do by very probable conjectures, both *from* the *Parabolical* and Figurative way of Inſtitution uſed by Jeſus Chriſt, ſo conformable to *that of Plato*, and the *Interrogatory* and Queſtionary, ſo like to *that of Socrates* and others, and *from* the *Honour* put upon Philoſophy and Philoſophers, not only by *God* himſelf in giving ſome of them the Preheminence, in an extraordinary manner, by a *Starry* Meſſenger ſent on purpoſe, firſt of all others to behold the bleſſed Jeſus in the Fleſh, and to Recognize him King, but alſo by the *Antient Chriſtians*, who not only Permitted, but Aſſumed their *Formalities* and Cuſtoms. I ſay, though I might confirm this Truth by theſe, and many other very Probable Conjectures, yet I rather chooſe to go a Plainer, and more Demonſtrative way, by particularly Inſtancing the ſeveral Doctrines of

the

the Grave Philosophers, and Wise men among the Gentiles, and shewing how agreeable they are to those of Christians; and that, to vindicate my self from all Temerity and Rashness in affirming what I have, as well as to afford an entertainment that will neither be unpleasing, nor unuseful to many. Indeed, it will put the *Doctrines* of the *Christian Religion beyond the Contradictions* of the Atheist, to a Person that shall see them to be such as have obtained among *wise men* in the most Antient Ages, and *Universally* over all the World.

And forasmuch as to the Moral part of Christian Religion, there is not so much doubt but that the Heathen had a great Intelligence and Understanding of it, as whoever readeth *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Theognis*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus*, and *Oeconomus*, *Isocrates*, *Tully*'s Offices, and *Seneca*, cannot but acknowledge; therefore I shall not stay you here with any long

Discourse

Discourse on that point.

Wherein that I may not overwhelm you with a multitude of Instances that do occurr, for to say all I might, were to translate whole Volumes: I shall only offer for a taste what is at present in the compass of my memory, upon the three Heads, Of *Piety* to God, of *Righteousness* to man, and of *Sobriety* to our selves; Resolving for your greater satisfaction, and that the argument in hand may have the more Light and Efficacy, to *Parallel* the Testimonies of the Poets and Philosophers, which I produce, with others of a like Importance in the Holy and Inspired Pen-men.

And, first for **Piety** to God.

First, That **God is to be worshipped.** *Pythagoras* that great Philosopher referred all to *this*: and before him *Orpheus*, whom *Pythagoras* imitated, but to be particular, He must *be worshipped*, *Iamb. de vit. Pythag. f. 138.*

First,

First, **Spiritually, Purely, Holily.**

Cato, and the Heathen Liturgies.

Si Deus *est* Animus, *nobis ut* Carmina *dicunt,*
Is tibi præcipue sit purâ *mente* colendus.

If God be a Spirit, *as Poets say, or rather as we are taught in* Liturgies *or solemn Prayers, he is chiefly to be worshipped by thee, and with a* **Pure** *mind.*

Christ in *John* 4. 24.
God is a Spirit, *and will be worshipped in* Spirit, *and in Truth.*

Tibullus.
Casta *placent superis*, pura *cum mente venite,*
Et manibus puris *sumite fontis aquam.*

Holy *things do please those above*, come you *with* Pure *and Holy minds,*

minds, and with Pure *hands take Fountain water.*

In Leg. 12. Tabul.

Ad Dives adeunto casté. Cic. 2. de Leg.

Approach Holily *unto the Gods.*

David in Psal. 93. 5.

Holiness *becometh thy house.*

James 4. 8.

———Cleanse *your* Hands, *ye sinners, and Purifie your Hearts,* &c.

Pythagoras.

Ἀνυπόδητος θύε καὶ εὐχαριστεῖν. Iambl. Protrep. c. 21. f. 136.

Having put off thy Shoes, *do thou Sacrifice,* and *worship.*

Exodus 3. 5.

Put off *thy Shoes, for the Place whereon thou standest* is Holy Ground.

Secondly, *In the* best manner *we can.*

In Leg. 12. Tabul.

Ex patriis ritibus colunto optima, Cic. de Leg. l. 2.

Among all the Countrey Rites of Religion, those which are best, *must be observed.*

So *Apollo Pythius*.

Cic. ibid. For when the *Athenians* had consulted *him* about *Religion*, and Ceremonies, and put the Question to which they should adhere; He *answers*, They should adhere to those of their *Ancestors*; [*quæ essent in more* majorum;] and when coming again, they told him that the Religion of their Ancestors had undergone so many *mutations*, that they were to seek among so many where to find it, and therefore pray him to vouchsafe his *Direction*, which among them ought to be Observed; To this he answers, The **Best.**

Malachi 1. 14.

Cursed be the Deceiver, which hath in his flock a Male, and *Voweth and Sacrificeth unto the Lord* a Corrupt thing.

Xenoph. l 1. de dict. & facti Socrat. *Socrates*, as *Xenophon tells us, was wont to commend this saying of the* Antients, *Secundùm* quod potes, *Diis immortalibus Sacrificia offerás. Offer Sacrifice to the Gods, according to thy Ability.* Paul

Paul in 2 Cor. 8. 12.

——So there may be a Performance also out of that which you have; for if there be first a willing mind, *it is accepted according unto that* which he hath.

Thirdly, *According to that* **Discovery of the Divine Mind** *which we have.*

Zenophon sayes concerning *Socrates*; *Si quando autem quicquam* à Diis *sibi* ostendi *putabat; minus persuasus fuisset* præter Ostensa facere, *quam siquis suasisset ei* ducem *in via* cæcum pro vidente *recipere, & via ignarum pro gnaro. Illos autem, qui cavendo malum hominum de se opinionem,* præter *illa, quæ* dii consulerent, *facerent,* Stoliditatis *accusabat: ipse vero* consilium divinum omnibus anteferebat *rebus humanis. If at any time he apprehended a thing to be revealed to him* by God; *he could not more easily be induced* to act beside that Revelation, *than he*

Zenoph. ubi supra. Vid. Plut. in Apol. pro Soc.

he could be perswaded to take a blind guide, *to conduct him*, for one that had eyes; *or to take him that knew not a foot of the way he was to go, before one that* knew *it perfectly. Also he accused those of extreams* Folly, *who to avoid the ill Opinion of men, would* act beside the Discovery *and Revelation of God; but for his own part, he* preferred Divine Direction *and counsel, before all* Humane Respects.

Deut. 5. 27.

Speak thou unto Us, All that the Lord our God shall speak unto Thee, and We will *Hear it, and do it.*

Fourthly, *with all* **Alacrity and Cheerfulness.**

Ovid.

Dii quoq; ut à cunctis hilari *pietate colantur,*
Tristitiam poni per sua festa jubent.

The Gods that they may be adored with

with cheerfulness, *command men to lay aside* Sadness and Sorrow, *which is evident by the* Feasts *they have instituted.*

Apostle, 2 Cor. 9. 7. & Phil. 4. 4.

God loves a cheerful *giver.*

Rejoyce in the Lord alway, *and again I say rejoyce.*

Fifthly, **Seriously**, *and without* **Distraction.**

Pythagoras *forbad Occasional and Ejaculatory Prayers*, because he *could not conceive them to be Serious and Solemn.* Pythag. apud. Plutarch. in Num.

The Romans, *whilst the Priest was occupied and taken up about the Auguries or Sacrifices*, *used to cry*, Hoc age, *Mind this. Quæ vox eos qui intersunt* (sayes *Plutarch*) *ad rem quæ agitur* attentos reddit. Plutar. in Num.

David in Psal. 86. 11.

Unite *my heart to fear thy Name.*

Sixthly, *with* Reverence *and Godly Fear, and* without Curiosity.

Zenophon in *Stobæus.*

Ζηνοφ. in Epist. ad Æsch. apud Stob. ser. 78.

Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεῖα ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, πᾶσι δῆλον. ἀπόχρη δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν δυνάμιν αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι. οἱ δ' εἰσὶν ὄντες ἀφανῆ μὲν, ἄπορον ζητεῖν δεμνῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ δικαίοις ἐστὶν ἢ ἀσφαλὲς ἐξιχνεύειν, οἷς οὐδὲν πλέον ὑπηρεσίας ἀρμόττει. *That Divine things are* above us, *every one knows. It sufficeth* to adore *the Excellency of his Power. But who the Gods are, is neither easie to find, nor* lawful *to seek. So it is not* fit *for Servants to* pry *into the Actions of their* Masters; *to whom under that character, nothing but service will sute.*

Deut. 29. 29.

Secret *things belong to* the Lord our God, *but* revealed *things to us, and our children.*

So much for **Worship in General.**

Now

Now for the two *Principal Acts of it* **Prayer** *and* **Giving of Thanks.**

First, Prayer.

First, *It ought to be performed in* **Faith.** (1.) *That God will* **hear**; and (2.) *That he is* **able to help.**

Numa *ordained*

Peractis precibus sedere, *To* sit down *after Prayers*; which *Plutarch* saith, was interpreted, *Augurii vim habere, quia bonorum vota certa sunt, & firma futura. To be as Good as an* Augury, *for asmuch as the Prayers of Good men are certain and* sure to be answered. Plut. in Num.

So *Menander*.

Ἐυχὰς δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστρέφει θεός. God refuseth not his Ear *to a Righteous Prayer.*

James 5. 16.

The Effectual fervent Prayer *of the Righteous* Man prevaileth much.

Linus in Iamblic. & Stobæus.

Ἐλπιζειν χρὴ πάντα, ἐπεὶ οὐ τὸ μὴ ἐλπιζόμενον.
Πάντα γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὰ κοινὰ, καὶ ἀνύστατον οὐδέν.

We ought to hope *all things; there is nothing which we may not hope for. All things are easie* to God, and *nothing impossible.*

Matthew 19. 26. Luke 18. 27.

All things are possible *to God, what things are impossible to man,* are *possible to God.*

Romans 4. 18.

Who against *Hope*, Believed in Hope.

Secondly, *It ought to be performed* in all humility, *with* acknowledgements *of our* unworthiness *and ill deserving.*

Iamblicus.

Iambl. de Myst. ex translat. Ficini.

Supplicare verò humillime convenit: *agnoscere enim* vilitatem *nostram si superis conferamur, efficit, ut* maxime *supplicemus; conver-*

*vertamur*q; *ad illos* omnino, *& assidua consuetudine* similes *evadamus. It becometh us most* humbly *to apply our selves in* Prayer; *for to* acknowledge *our* vileness, *if we be compared with the Deity*, conduceth much *to the making our Prayer* a Prayer; *and to the entire* conversion *of us* to him, *and to the rendring us* like *and conformable by daily accustomance* [or Converse].

Jacob in Gen. 32. 10.

I am not worthy of the least *of all thy mercies.*

The Publican in Luke 18. 13.

Be merciful to me a Sinner.

Seneca.

Ceterum idem semper de nobis pronunciare debebimus; malos esse *nos, malos* fuisse, *invitus adjiciam, & futuros* esse. *But we ought always to pass the same sentence on our selves, that we* are *evil, that we* have been *evil; and I will unwillingly add, that we* shall *be so.* Sen. l. 1. de Brev. c. 10.

1 John 1. 8.

If we say we have no sin, we deceive

deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

Thirdly, *we must pray for* temporals, *with* Resignation *and submission to God, as who knoweth what* is fitter for us, better than We our selves.

Numa ordained,

Adorantem in orbem se circumagere, *That he that Prayed should turn* round: which *Plutarch* thus interprets, (*Nisi potius*) *Quod Ægyptiorum* rotæ *obscure repræsentant,* idem *hoc* Numæ *institutum declarat, videl. nihil in rebus humanis* stabile, *ideoque conveniens esse, ut quocunq; modo vitam nostram Deus torqueat* atque *revolvat boni* consulamus. *Unless you would rather conceive that what the* wheels *of the* Ægyptians *did obscurely represent, that same this Institution of* Numa *did more manifestly declare, to wit, that in humane affairs, there is nothing established and* firm, *and therefore that it*

Plut. in Num.

it is most *fit that after whatsoever manner God doth shape and turn our lives, we should* take it well *at his hands.*

Zenophon says of *Socrates.*

Orabat Deus simpliciter bona præstare, *tanquam* optime *Dii quanam sint nobis* bona scirent. *Qui vero aurum, aut argentum, aut tyrannidem, aut quippiam* hujusmodi *à Diis orando petebat, illos simile quid opinabatur orare, ac si ludum talorum, aut prælia, aut aliquid orarent cujus* incertus exitus esset. *He was wont simply to ask of God* Good things [not specifying any] *as knowing God did understand best what things are* so *for us; but as for those that in their Prayers petition for Gold, for Silver, for Empire, or for any thing else of that nature, them he conceived in it to Resemble such as should Pray for a Game at Dice, for a Battle, or for any thing else of a like uncertain* and doubtful issue.

Zen. l. 1. de dict. & facit. Socrat.

Mat-

Matthew 20. 20, 21, 22.

Then came to him the Mother of Zebedees *Children, with her Sons, worshipping him, and desiring a certain thing of him. And he said unto her, what wilt thou? She said unto him, Grant, that these my two Sons* may sit, *the one on* thy right *hand, and the other* on the left *in thy Kingdom*; *But Jesus answered and said*, *Ye* know not what ye ask.

Thus much of **Prayer.**

Secondly, **Thanksgiving.**

All must be **acknowledged** *and* **ascribed** *to God.*

Archilocus.

Archil. apud Stob. Serm. 103. Τοῖς θεοῖς ἅδει πάντα. πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ κακῶν ἀνέρας ἐρύσσει, μελαίνῃ κειμένους ἐπὶ χθονί· πολλοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας, καὶ μαλ' εὖ βεβηκότας ὑψίστους κάτω.

Ascribe all unto [the Gods] *God*; for [they do] *he does often raise men out of their calamities, that lay before upon the Black* Earth, and

and as *often overturns and throws upon their backs those that stand most firmly.*

And this acknowledgement, or Praise *must be*

1. In Word.

Pythagoras in *Iamblicus.*

Ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστί τι θεὸς, καὶ ἐστὶ πάντων κύριος, καὶ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν καλῶν τ' ἀγαθὸν ἐστί. Iambl. c. 28. de Vit. Pytha.

For as much as there is a God, and He Lord of all, it is most meet to acknowledge and confess him, to be the Good.

Psalm 92. 1.

It is a Good *thing to give* thanks *unto the* Lord.

Plato.

Ὕμνοι θεῶν, καὶ ἐγκώμια κατευχαῖς ἐυχαῖς, ἅπερ ἂν ἡδίστα. Plat. l. 7. de leg. apud Stob. ser. 49.

It is most just that Hymns and Praises *of God* [the Gods] *mixt with Prayers be sung to him.*

Philippians 4. 6.

In every thing give praise *to God,*

by

by Prayer, and Supplication, with Thanksgiving.

The *Antients* had their *Paans* or Laudatory Songs, and one eminently called so:

Viz. ——*Lætumq; choro* Pæana *canentes.*

2. *In* **Deed.** *And that,*

1. *By* **Tything.** The *Antient* Heathen generally paid *Tythes* to their Gods, as an acknowledgement, High-rent, or *Honourary to their Soveraign*; an *Usage* I should be apt to believe derived from the *Ægyptians*, were that true which *Batricides* sayes, that by the Ordinance of *Joseph* they paid to *Pharaoh* the Tenth: but since *Moses* speaks but of a *Fifth*, I rather derive the Custom from a much higher Original. Once it obtained generally, to tythe their **Spoils**, and their **Goods.**

Batric. Anal. Alexan. f. 88.

1. *Their* **Spoils.**

Agis gave the *tenth* to God,

Post

Post hæc Agis *Delphos profectus est, ac* Decimam Deo *obtulit. And the Greeks also under the command of* Zenophon, *when by his admirable conduct they were returned safe into* Greece, *devoted the* tenth of their Spoil, *Hîc etiam Pecuniam de captivis collectam partiti, eam quæ* Decimæ *nomine, aut Apollini, aut Ephesiæ Dianæ vota fuerat, consecrandam* Prætores acceperunt. With which money dedicated to *Diana* of *Ephesus* that Great Captain builds a Temple and an Altar, and endows it. *Ante templum pila erecta est in qua incisa literæ* Sacer Dianæ ager. *Qui possideat atque ex eo fructum capiat, Annonæ* decimam *illum Deæ solvere; reliquum in sartâ tecta conservare oportet. Deam ipsam qui se fraudavit vindicturam.*

Zenoph. de reb. Gest. Grec. l. 3.

Zenoph. de Cyr. min. exp. l. 4.

Zen. ibid.

The same *Zenophon* tells us of *Agesilaus* that he also *Tythed.*

Zenoph. de Laud. Ages.

Atque Amicorum quidem solum (saith he) *ab omni præda tutum præstitit: Hostium verò ita fruitus Agro est, ut duobus annis centum talenta*

talenta & amplius Deo apud Delphos Decimam *dedicavit.* And

Tarquin the Proud was, in this Respect, no less Religious: He built the *Capitol* of the *Tenths* of *Spoils.* *Hoc opus* [viz. *Capitolium*] (sayes *Dionysius*) *Tarquinius ex* Decimis *Suessana prada perficere cogitans*, &c. And after him, *Posthumius* also did consecrate the *Tenths*, as sayes the same *Dionysius*, *De spoliorum* decimis *Ludos & Sacra Diis fecit XL. talentorum impendio*, &c. According well to what we read of *Abraham*, Gen. 14. 20. Heb. 7. 2. *And he gave him* Tythes *of* all; *viz. the Spoils.*

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. l. 4.

Liv. l. 1.

Dionys. Halic. l. 6.

2. Yes, *and the Antients did not only consecrate the Tenth* of the Spoils which they took; but also of all their other Substances and Goods, as is plainly intimated in the Question, which we read in *Plutarch. Cur multi Divitum Herculi* Decimam bonorum *suorum consecrant?* But of *Hercules* his Tenth, be pleased to consult *Diodorus*: of which

Plut. in Quæst. Rom. qu. 18.

Diod. l. 4.

which also I find some mention made in *Cicero*: *Orestii nuper prandia in semitis* decimae nomine *magno honore fuerunt*. Yes and long before *Hercules*, the old *Pelasgi* that built and dwelt at *Spina*, *Mittebant Delphos Deo* Decimas *ex maritimis provenitibus*: and *others* of them were obliged by the Oracle at *Dodona* when they were at Rest, and setled, *Decimas Phœbo mittere, & capita Jovi.*

Cic. l. 2. de Offic.

Dionys. Halic. l. 1. Antiq.

So that the very *Heathen* by the Light they had, were acquainted that an *High* and *Honorary Rent* must issue out of all our *estates*, and all our *increase*, unto God the Owner and the *Lord* of *All*: not unlike to what we have thereof in *Solomon*; Honour *the* Lord *with thy* substance, *and with all the* increase *of thy substance.*

And this for **Tything.**

2. **Vowing** *is another way of Real Paying of Thanks.* It was One of the *Laws* of the Twelve *Tables*, *Sancte vota reddunto.* And I ren-

Cic. l. 2. de Leg.

der it in the words of *David*, *Make* Vows, *and pay them unto God.* Which in part omitted by the *Tyrrheni*, or as *Dionysius*, the *Pelasgi*, they were punisht for it with a thousand Evils, and were told so by the *Oracle*. *Consulentibus autem* Oraculum *quo Deo*, *quove Dæmone laso*, *paterentur talia*, *& quomodo quærendum his malis Remedium*; *Respondit Deus*, *eos Voti compotes*, *non reddidisse* quæ voverant, *& multum debere insuper*. Laborantes *enim sterilitate* Pelasgi *omnium Rerum* Jovi, Apollini & Cabiris *Decimas* voverant, *& eorum quæ ipsis* nascerentur *in posterum*; *potitique voto*, *frugum omnium*, *& pecorum portionem sortiti obtulerant Dis*, *quasi vovissent hæc sola.*

Dion. Antiq. l. 1.

Well you will say, but though the World both knew and *Glorified* God, yet (according to the Testimony of the great Apostle) they Glorified him not *as* God; God is a Spirit, but the *Gentiles* becoming vain in their Imaginations and conceits

ceits of him, *changed the Glory of the Incorruptible God into an* Image *made like to corruptible man, and to Birds, and four-footed Beasts, and Creeping things.* Rom. c. 1.

Indeed it cannot be denyed, that generally the Heathen were depraved in their thoughts of God, but *Universally* they were not. What apprehensions many of them had of *Idols*, and of the superstition representing the Creator in the shapes of Creatures, you may well imagine by a passage in *Strabo*. He discoursing somewhere of the Occasion why *Moses* reputed by him an *Egyptian* Priest, abandoned and left his Countrey, namely, *That* he held the Institutions followed in it, not to be endured; *That* the *Egyptians* who attributed unto God the Images of wild *Beasts*, or Cattle, had no better sentiments and apprehensions of him than the *Greeks*, that represented him in *Humane* Figure; And *that* God containing all things, was not to be adored in the Shape or Figure Strab. L. 16. Geog.

of any. *who* (says that Noble Geographer) possessed of this Opinion and Belief, begat a firm perswasion of the same in not a few *good men*, whom he conducted to the Place where now *Jerusalem* stands.

I might dilate on this head in shewing out of *Seneca* and *Tully* in many places, what apprehensions both of these had of *Idols*, but I should be too prolix. That the Antient *Persians* owned none, is certain. And for the *Greeks*, it was a Symbol of the sage *Pythagoras*, Θεὸν πάντα μὴ ἐστιγμᾶν δακτυλίῳ, *Ingrave not any* Image *or likeness of God in a Ring*; whereby it signified (as *Iamblicus* interprets him) *that God is incorporeal and invisible.* As for the *Romans*, *Numa* interdicted unto them the use of all *Effigies* of the Gods, and all Pictures; so that in antient times, and for the space of an hundred and seventy years, that people had none. *Neque* priscis *illis temporibus fuit apud illos vel* picta

Iambl. Protrep. c. 21. symb. 24. Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 7.

picta *ulla Imago Dei* (saith *Plutarch*) *vel* ficta, *sed primis* centum atque septuaginta annis, *etsi templa adificassent, atque sacras casas struxissent, nullum tamen omnino* simulacrum *efformavere*, *nempe eo quod & nefas esset præstantiora deterioribus assimulare*; *neque eum aliter quam* mente *attingi posse senserunt.* Plu. in Num.

So conformable a sense had many Antient Heathen unto that of the *Second Command.* Thou *shalt not make unto thee any* graven Image, *or any* likeness *of any thing that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.*

And as for *others* who *approved* of the use of Images, if we but Reflect upon the *Reason* which inclined them to do it, there will be as much to be offered in extenuation and excuse of that commission, as there can be for the *Romanists.* Which truth I shall as easily persuade

you of, as I can read a passage to you in the admirable *Max. Tyr.* *Ità Deorum natura* (saith he) *nec* statuis *per se, nec* imaginibus *opus est*; sed *cum* infirma *sit oppido* mortalium conditio, *tantumque à divina, quantum à cœlo terra recedat,* signa *ejusmodi excogitavit sibi, quibus & nomina Deorum, & nuncupationes tribueret. Si quibus igitur tam firma sit memoria, ut erecto statim animo cœlum usque ipsum pertingere, Deumque rectà adire, nihil* iis *fortasse* opus sit statuis. *Verum rarissimi inter homines sunt hujusmodi.* And afterwards, *Videntur certè & Legislatores mihi non aliter quam puerorum gregi, has generi mortalium invenisse* imagines, *honoris divini quasi* signa *quadam, vel* notas, *queis ad* memoriam *ejus tanquam manuductione quadam, & via homines deducerent.* And again toward the conclusion of his Dissertation. *Deus enim omnium quæ extant* pater, conditorq; *sole antiquior, antiquior* cœlo, *omni* tempore *major,*

Max. Tyr. Diss. 38.

omni

omni ævo, & quicquid in natura mutatur; Legislator sine nomine, *quem nulla vox exprimit, nulla oculorum* intuetur *acies; cujus cum sensus nostros* excedat *essentia,* auxilium *a verbis, à nominibus, animalibusq; ab auri, eboris, argentiq; figuris, à plantis, fluviisque, à montium jugis, aquarumq; scatebris* aliquod petamus; *ut ad ejus hac ratione* intellectum *pervenire liceat. Cum enim* tenuitatis *nostræ ita poscat ratio, quicquid apud nos est* pulcherrimum, *natura illius dedicamus: plane ut* amantes *solent,* qui *eorum quos amant, lubenter* simulachra intuentur, *&c.*

As for **Reverence** *to the* **Name** *of God injoyned in the third Commandment, Thou shalt not take the* **Name** *of the Lord thy God* in vain, 'tis evident how great consideration the *Disciples* of *Pythagoras* had of that Duty, by what *Iamblicus* affirmeth of them; ἐν Θεῶν ὀνόμασι χρῶνται πολλὰ φειδῶ ἐπιτήδευσε. That *they were very* sparing *in the use of the* names

Iambl. de vit. Pyth. c. 28.

of *the Gods*. Indeed ἐκ ὅρκου *Reverence an Oath* was a *Decree* and Ordinance of that Great Master, and that respect and Deference which he was sensible was due unto the Divine *Name*, obliged him to make *it*; Which same Reflection urged *Periander* to proceed farther. Ὄρκον μὴ ὀμόσῃς (sayes He) an expression not to be translated better than in the words of Christ himself, *Swear not at all.*

Sel. de Jur. Nat. & Gen. l. 3. c. 16.

For the **Sabbath**, the Learned *Selden* as well as others, whom you may consult at your leisure, hath amassed many Testimonies about it. I will only mention that of *Tibullus*,

Luce sacra requiescat *humus*, requiescat *arator*,
Et grave, suspenso vomere, cessat opus.
Solvite vincla jugis, nunc ad præsepia debent
Plena coronato stare boves capite.

Omnia

Omnia *sint* operata Deo: *non audeat ulla*
Lanificam pensis imposuisse manum.

Which may very well be Paraphrased in the terms of the *fourth Command.* *Remember the* Sabbath day *to keep it* Holy, *six dayes shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh is the* Sabbath, *in it thou shalt do* no work, *thou nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, nor thy Man-servant, nor thy Maid-servant, nor thy Cattle, nor the Stranger that is within thy Gates.*

So much for **Piety to God.**

As for **Righteousness** *to man*, it would be infinite to instance all I might upon the several *Commandments* which concern it, both out of *Menander*, *Phocylides*, *Pittacus*, *Theognis*, *Pindarus*, *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Seneca* and others, a *work* I find already excellently well performed to my hand by *Stobæus*. I shall therefore urge

ἠθικ. ἐν Στοβ.

at

at present, but that *One* Duty which is comprehensive of all the rest; That *we ought to do to others*, as *we would be done unto by others*; which also is the *Law* and the *Prophets*.

All men know it to have been a Symbol of the Emperour *Severus*, *Quod* tibi fieri *non vis*, alteri *ne feceris*. *Do not that to* another, *which thou wouldst not have done unto* thy self; and what he expressed in so plain words, is as plainly implyed both in *that* of *Isocrates*, Μηδὶ ἀφρονεῖν ἐπιλέγε· κοινὸν γὰρ ἡ τύχη, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα δοκεῖν. *Upbraid no man with his Calamity, for chance is common, and thou knowest not what may befall* [thy self]: And in *that* of *Seneca*, *Scis improbum esse, qui ab* uxore *pudicitiam exigit, ipse alienarum corruptor uxorum. Thou knowest how Unjust* he is, *who expecteth that his own wife should be Loyal and Chaste, while* he himself *committeth Adultery with other mens.* And this for **Righteousness to others.**

Isocr. apud, Stob. serm. 110.

Sen. Ep. 49.

As

As for **Moderation**, *Temperance* and *Sobriety*, it was a Symbol of *Pythagoras*, Ἀρχὴν γέλωτος μὴ ἔχειν, That *One ought not to Indulge himself in immoderate* and profuse Laughter, which as *Iamblichus*, who best could, interprets it, [Δεῖ τὴν ἡδονὴν τῶν ἀλόγων] implyed the *Castigation* and subdual of the *affections*; A Doctrine most comformable to that of our *Apostle*, *Mortifie therefore your members which are on the Earth, Fornication, Uncleanness, Inordinate affection*, &c. And the same *Pythagoras* hath another *Symbol* not impertinent, *viz.* Κυάμων μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, *Pass not over a* Yoke; whereby, as the lately mentioned Interpreter assures us, he obliged his Disciples to the exercise of *Justice, Equity, Moderation*; and indeed he doth it in an expression not unlike to that of the *Scriptures*, wherein we read, *it is good for a man that he bear the* yoke *in his youth*——of an *heifer unaccustomed to the* yoke—*my* yoke *is easie.*

Iamb. Protrep. c. 21. sub. 22.

Pythag. apud Iamb. ubi supra.

And

And we have the Famed *Socrates* a great example of *Self-denyal*, Temperance and Moderation; for of him 'tis said by *Zenophon*, tali modo *corpus ac animum* castigabat, &c. *tum enim* paucis *utebatur, ut nescio quis tam modicum laboraret, qui non posset lucrari quæ* Socrati satis essent, &c. That *he so* chastised *both his body and mind*, &c. *and did use* so few things, *that* Zenophon *knew not the man who got so little by his labours*, but *that it was enough to procure what would suffice* Socrates. Wherein he resembled *Paul*, who saith of himself——*I keep down my Body*——*I will not be* brought under *the Power of any thing*——*Having food and rayment, let us be content. Godliness with contentment is great gain*; or in *Seneca's* Language, *Magna divitia sunt lege naturæ composita* paupertas. *Ad manum est quod sat est.* We must *deny our selves* and take up the Cross to be *Christians*; and the terms were no easier for them that

Zen. l. 1. de dict. & facit. Soc.

Sen. Ep. 4.

that would of old be *Philosophers*, *Satis ipsum* nomen Philosophiæ (says *Seneca*) *etiamsi modestè tractetur*, invidiosum *est*. Which also *Maximus Tyrius* affirms; and *Plato*.

Ser. Ep. 9.

Max. Tyr. Dis. 20. Plat. in Euthyphr.

Again, I might also *instance*, *in the greatest and most illustrious duties of the* **Gospel**, such as *that* of **acknowledging** *ones self a sinner in order to his being made better*, concerning which in *Epictetus* you may read, Εἰ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, πίστευσον ὅτι κακὸς εἶ. *If thou wilt become* Good, *first believe that thou art* Evil. *That* of **forgetting** *and* **forgiving** *Injuries*, of which the celebrated *Cato* is a great Example, for to a certain fellow who had hurt him while he was in the Bath, and who Repenting, asked him *forgiveness*, He answered (him) *I remember* not that thou didst strike me. *That* of **giving Alms** *secretly*, *let not thy* left hand *know*, *what thy* right hand doth, of which *Artestlaus*, who left a bag of money under

Epict. Stob. serm. 3.

Sen. Lib. de Ira. c. 32. Vid. Sacr. in Crit. Plat.

der the Pillow of his poor distressed friend, unknown to him, [a Story mentioned by *Seneca*] is a known and famous Instance: and lastly, *That* of **leaving all** *for Religion*, a Doctrine as hard to be digested as it is in sensual and debauched times, it would be no surprise to *Anaxagoras*, of whom it is averred by *Philo*, that *Præ amore philosophiæ* prædia reliquit. *He left his Lands for the* love of Philosophy. The like is said of *Democritus*, and others.

Sen. Lib. de Benef.

Philo de vit. contempl. Vid. Plat. dialog. pro Socr.

But no longer to insist on *special* ones, I will only hint some **General** and *common Rules*, by which the Heathen Doctors obliged their Disciples to Regulate themselves in all their Actions, which assoon as I have mentioned, I make no Question but you will acknowledge them *Christian*.

As First, *That they ought to* **live** *and to* **think** *as always in the* **sight** *of God*, whoever inspects them; yea, and *as* if they were within the *ken and view* of all men. So *Seneca*,

neca. *Sic certe vivendum tanquam* in conspectu *vivamus*, *sic cogitandum, tanquam aliquis in pectus intimum inspicere possit, & potest. Quid enim prodest ab homine aliquid esse secretum*, Nihil Deo clausum *est*. *Interest animis nostris, & cogitationibus mediis intervenit. we ought* so *to* live, *as if we lived in* Publick, *and so to* think *as if one always* looked *into our very Heart; and One can. For what advantage is it that a thing be concealed from* man, *when nothing can be* hid from God. *He is present to our minds, and conscious of all our thoughts.* Thus *Seneca*. And *Thales* taught the same Doctrine: viz. *Homines existimare oportere, Deos omnia* cernere, *Deorum* esse omnia plena, *fore enim omnes* castiores. *That men ought to believe that* God seeth *all things, and that all places are full of him, for by this means they will become more Holy. Walk* before me (sayes God to *Abraham*) *and be upright. Can any hide himself in secret*

Sen. Epist. 83.

Thal. apud Cic. l. 2. de Leg.

Gen. 17. 1.

Jer. 23. 24.

secret Places, that I shall not see him *saith the Lord* [in the Prophet] *He is the Discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the Heart, neither is there any creature that is not* manifest *in his sight, but all things are naked and* open *in the eyes of him with whom we have to do*, saith the *Apostle*.

Heb. 4. 13.

Secondly, *That whatever enterprize they were engaged* in, *or did apply themselves unto, they ought to go about it in the* name *of God, Acknowledging Him Author both of all Ability*, and all success; for which cause it was ordained among the *Romans*, that nothing should be done, or undertaken by them, but with *Invocation* of Divine Assistance and Prayer. *Bene ac sapienter P. C.* (sayes the *Junior Plinie*) *majores instituerunt, ut rerum agendarum ita dicendi initium* à precationibus capere, *quod nihil rite, nihilq; providenter homines sine Deorum immortalium ope, consilio, honore auspicarentur. It was a Pious and*

Plin. in Paneg.

most

most *Prudent institution of our* Ancestors, *O Grave and Honourable Fathers, that all Orations as well as all Actions, should be* begun with Prayer; *forasmuch as nothing can be wisely taken in hand by men, and to good purpose, without the Help, Counsel, Honour of the* Immortal God. And so *Ovid*,

A Jove principium in Jovem terminus esto.

The *Apostles* Doctrine is, *Pray always.* And in the *Revelations* of St. *John*, 'tis *I am Alpha and Omega, the* Beginning *and the* Ending. Which minds me of another Rule.

Thirdly, *That they ought in all their Actions to referr unto the* Glory of God, *and so to carry and acquit themselves in them*, as *those that do partake of his* Nature. *Ut breviter tibi formulam præscribam* (it is in *Seneca*) talis *animus sapientis viri esse debet, qualis* Deum *decet:* Epist. 41.

deceat. *That I may prescribe thee a brief* Rule *of living; such ought the mind of a wise man to be, as doth* become God. So the *Apostle, Let the same* mind *be in you,* as *was in Christ Jesus. Be you Perfect* (says *Christ*) as *your Heavenly* Father *is Perfect.* Again, it is averred of *Pythagoras* and his followers by *Iamblicus,* that Ἀπόφασις ἣν ἂν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις διαλέγωνται ἰσχύει καὶ περὶ τοῦ βίου ὁμολογίας, &c. That *whatever distribution they make of Actions,* [or what Rules soever they make concerning them] *all refers to this Mark, the* Confession [or Glory] *of God.* And thus the *Apostle, whether you* eat *or* drink, *or whatever you* do, *do all to the* Glory *of God.*

Iambl. de vit. Pythag. c. 28.

It was from this *Principle* that their so *absolute a Resignation to the Divine Disposal* and Will, and their so Perfect a Submission proceeded, that as the *Christian* prayeth, *Let thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven,* so a *Philosopher* could

could say, *Nihil cogor, nihil patior* invitus, *nec* servio *Deo, sed* assentio, *eo quidem magis, quod scio omnia* certa *& in æternum dicta lege decurrere*———Olim *constitutum est, quid gaudeas, quid fleas. I am not compelled, I suffer nothing* unwillingly, *neither am I a* slave *unto God, but* assent *unto his will, and so much the rather, because I know that all things happen by an Eternal and Unchangeable Ordinance of God— Long since it was Decreed, what thou shouldst have of Joy or Sorrow.* So *Seneca.* And with how much Justice doth the same *Seneca* in the same Discourse applaud that manly Speech of *Demetrius*; *In this* One thing, *O Immortal Gods, I can complain of you, that you have not made known unto me what your* Will *was: for of my self, I had first of all come unto these things, to which being now* called, *I present my self.*

Sen. cur bonis vir. mala fiant c. 5. vid. Cab. in Phad. Plat.

Vid. Stob. serm. 22. Eicher. apud Clem. Alexandr. l. 7. Strom.

Fourthly, Not to mention *what Apprehensions many of them had of* **Conscience**, and of the Interest it hath in all Our Actions, *That* a *Good* one is a continual Feast, an *Evil* one a continual Torment; *That* the Goodness of the *Heart* ought to concurr to make the *Action* Good. *Actio recta non erit, nisi recta fuerit* voluntas, *ab hac enim est Actio. Rursus*, Voluntas *non erit recta, nisi* habitus animi *rectus fuerit. If the* Will *be not Good, the* Action *which Proceedeth from the same shall never be. Furthermore, the* Will *shall be Perverse, if the Habitude of the Spirit be not upright.* But not to stand on that, I will add but *One* more, but that a very useful and momentous one, namely, *That they ought to Act nothing with* **Doubting** *and reluctant* **Minds**, but to be well Resolved of the Equity, Justice and Lawfulness of things, before they did them; So *Cicero. Quocirca bene præcipiunt, qui vetant quicquam agere quod* dubites, *æquum sit,*

Sen. Ep 95.

Ci. Offic. l. 1.

sit, an iniquum, *Æquitas enim* lucet, *ipsa per se* Dubitatio *autem cogitationem significat injuriæ. will therefore do they teach, who forbid the doing of any thing whereof thou hast* doubt, *whether it be Right or Wrong, for Equity carries its own* Light *with it, but Doubting declareth some Imagination and conceit of Injury.* This is according to our *Apostle, He that* Doubteth *is Damned*, if *he eat, because he eateth not of* Faith, *for whatsoever is not of Faith, is* Sin.

And now Sir, what remaineth to perfect my Discourse on this Head, but that I Demonstrate that the Old *Philosophers* and other Wise Heathen, in all their Actions of Religion, designed something which they called **communion** *with God.* Which that they did, is manifest, not only from the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, which some deride as too Fantastical and Aery, but from that of the *Platonists* and other Sects. *Nisi Divina sunt, ubique tollitur sacrificii virtus, quæ in quadam* *Iamb. de Myst.*

Deorum ad homines Communione *consistit. If there be no Deity, then farewel the Virtue of Sacrifices or Religion, which consisteth solely in the* Communion *of God with Men.* Thus *Iamblicus.* And saith the *Apostle, we have* Fellowship *with God.* The like is in *Plutarch.*

Plutarch. contra Colot.

And this *Communion* with, and conjunction unto God, as they understood it to be *inchoate* and begun in the present world, so they were perswaded that it was not to be *Perfect* and consummate but in a Future: That here indeed, as on a raging and tumultuous Sea, men are Uncapable of Hearing and discerning God distinctly, but that hereafter when they have emerged it, they shall go to him, and there shall Hear him, and See him, and Know him, even as he is. So *Max. Tyr.* Πῶς ἂν τις ἐκεύξαιτ' ἂν καὶ ἴδοι τὸν θεόν; τὸ μὲν ὅλον ὄψει τοῦ ἐπιπόδων τοῖς αὐτὸν κρίνῃ. κρίνοιτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνάμεσον τῶν κλύδων, ἄξει σε γῆνδε, ἐξαρκῶν ἐκεῖ. καὶ διαλεχθῇ ὃν ὁ μὲν δικαὶ ἐδίδ.

Max. Tyr. diss. 1.

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[illegible] *But how shall we do to get out of this tumultuous Sea, and come to* see God? *Thou shalt* see *him* entirely, *when thou shalt be* called *to Him*; nor *will it be long before he* calls *thee, in the mean time await till he do. Old age is coming, which will conduct thee thither, and so is* Death, *which though the weak fear, and tremble at the Approaches of it, yet every* Lover of God *doth both expect it with Joy, and receive it with Confidence.*

This is much, but what is more surprizing, I will now compendiously summ up the *Articles* of Christian Faith and Doctrine, and by way of *Parallel* annex to them others not unlike them in the Books of Philosophers; which though it may seem Presumptuous to attempt, is yet no more than what the antient *Fathers*, *some* of them in part have done, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, and *others* of them, as *Lactantius*

for one, acknowledged not impossible to be performed; for sayes he, Facile *est autem docere pene universam* veritatem *per* Philosophos *& Sectas esse* divisam. *It is* easie *to evince, that almost the whole* Truth *of Christian Religion is divided among the* Philosophers *in their several Sects.*——*Sed doceamus* nullam *Sectam fuisse tam deviam, nec Philosophorum* quenquam *tam inanem, qui non viderit* aliquid *ex vero. We assert that there was never a* Sect *so much out of the way, nor one of all the Philosophers so* vain, *but that both. It and He had some Glympses of the* Truth.——*Quod si extitisset aliquis qui veritatem sparsam per singulos, per Sectasque diffusam colligeret in* unum, *ac redigeret in* corpus, *is profecto* non dissentiret à nobis. *Sed hoc nemo facere, nisi vere peritus ac sciens potest. Were there one that would collect together, and reduce into a Systeme or Body, all that* Truth *scattered in the several Philosophers,*

Lact. Instit. l. 7. c. 7.

phers, and diffused throughout their several Sects; *Verily he would not* differ from us. So said the *Father*, and so think I.

To begin then, *That* God is, *and is such an One as Holy Scripture hath described him*, that is, that he is *Father Almighty*, *Wise*, *Holy*, *Good*, *Just*, *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, and that his *Providence* and *Care extends to* all *his works*, are *Truths* so generally Acknowledged by wise men *in all times*, that I dare not abuse your Patience by so Unnecessary a Performance as that would be to give you many Proofs and Instances on *them*, out of the Antients.

You know how many Plain Testimonies concerning them, are collected by *Martinus* in his Metaphysicks, by *Alsted* in his Theologie, and by the Noble *Morney* in his Book of the Verity of Christian Religion, and by many others; and in the Treatise which occasioned you the present trouble, there are also some collected, so that I need not add

Vid. Cruck. de precat. Philad. 3. & 4.

add more on this Head, but only one citation out of *Plato*. For he having first confessed the little satisfaction which he had received in the *Theogonie*, and *Zoogenie* of the Antients, or those *Discourses* which were transmitted down by them in writing about the Origin or Generation of the Gods, and Animals, he Premises this as Fundamental to his own concerning the *former*. ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ ἐπιμελούμενοι πάντων πρόσω καὶ μακρὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἀπεσφαλμένοι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀφίστανται. *That there are* Gods, or which I take to be the true meaning that *there is a* God, *whose* Providence *and care particularly extends to all things both small and great, and who is inflexible from what is Just* and Right. And afterward in the same *Discourse*, reflecting on the Perpetuity, the Constancy, the Order in the Motion of the Heavens, not conceiving it imaginable how any lower Being should be able to inspire, and principle it, He concludes that *God* did; Θεὸν

Plat. in Epin. Vid. Sext. in Plat. Phed. Arist. de Mundo.

ἐγὼ φημὶ ἀλλὰ θεὸς, I affirm, it is God that is the Cause.

But to leave a Point that is not questioned, I proceed to entertain you with another that almost deservs to be as little, I mean the Doctrine of the **Trinity**, which though denyed by the *Modern Jews*, as we may read in *Buxtorfe*, and called into question by many that profess themselves Christians; yet it was undoubtedly acknowledged by the *Ancient* Jews, as you may find demonstrated in *Morney*, and was intimated in that Form of Benediction, which *Galatinus* mentions; nor was it unknown unto the **Gentiles**, which is now my task to Demonstrate.

Buxtor. Synag. Jud. c. 3.

Morney of Trueness of Christian Religion, *c. 6.*

Galat. in Epist. ad Rrucl.

And here I must profess how much I owe to the Learned and Industrious *Patricius*, for saving me a great part of the labour which otherwise I must have put my self to, by collecting out of *Zoroaster*, and *Hermes*, such Authorities as manifestly prove the point in hand; which partly because

Patric Patriarch. l. 9.

cause they may not be so generally known, the Author not lying in every bodies way, and partly also to render this Discourse the more Absolute, I shall compendiously repeat here.

For to begin with *Zoroaster*, he speaketh of a *Paternal Monad* or Unite, ὅπου πατρικὰ μόνας ἐστί, *where the* Paternal Monad *is*; and, as *Patricius* well observes, a Paternal is a *Generative* or Principiant Monad, and so is *this*, for he begetteth or Principleth the number next in Nature, and that is *Two* [the Son and Spirit] γεννᾷ (saith he) ἐστι μόνας ἡ δυάς. *The Monad is Protended, which* begetteth Two; which Two he calls the *Diad*, and affirmeth of them, that they alwayes *sit* with the Father, Δυὰς δὲ παρὰ πατρὶ κάθηται. *But the* Diad sits *with him.* [*In the beginning was* with *God.*] Now a Monad and a Diad, or One and Two makes Three; or a Monad protended into a Diad, is a Trinity; of which he saith, πατὴρ δὲ ἐστι

λαμπρ λάμπει τοῦτο, ἧς πάντας ἀρχῆς, *The* Trinity *whereof the* Unity *is the* Principle, *shineth out in all the world.*

But you will say, here is a kind of Trinity indeed, but of what *Relation* to the Christian? Ours is a *Father*, a *Son* the Wisdom of the Father, and an *Holy Spirit*, through which He worketh all, and so was *Zoroaster*'s; for the **first Principle**, which he mostly calleth the *Monad*, otherwhere he calls the *Father*, ἐαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἤρπασεν, *The* Father *Ravished himself*; πάντα ἐξετέλεσεν πατήρ, *The* Father *perfected all things.* The **Second Person**, which he somewhere calls the Fathers Power, He calleth otherwhere the Fathers *Mind*, ἔργα τάδε πατρικὸς νοῦς αὐτὸς γενόμενος, *The self-begotten* Mind *of the Father, considering the things which were made.* And for the **third** Person [which, as *Patricius* thinks, he calls the Second Mind, for the Self-Begotten is the First, πάντα ἐξετέλεσεν πατὴρ ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ δευτέρῳ.

[illegible], *the Father Perfected all things and gave them to the* Second Mind. I say, the *third* Principle is by him acknowledged to be the [illegible] [illegible] ἡ μεγὰ [illegible] [illegible], *The term of the Paternal Abysse, and the Spring of Intellectual Beings*; To whom ascribing the *Efficiency* and Making of all things that are made, he calls him the Maker, ἡ ὁ [illegible], &c. *and the Maker*, &c.

So much for *Zoroaster*; and there are as many and as pregnant Testimonies in **Hermes** as in Him; all which it were too long to enumerate; wherefore I shall only touch on some, and those the Principal; as that he speaks of God the **Father**, and calls him *the Mind*, ὁ ἡ νοῦς [illegible] Θεὸς, *but the* Mind, *God the* Father. Which had *Zoroaster* also ever done, I should have thought the **Second Mind** to be the Son, and that the saying which I quoted even now, *that the Father perfected all things*, and *gave them to the Second Mind*, were to be understood

Horn. in Pim. l. 1. Vid. Stanch. de pereni Phil. l. 2. c. 17.

of the Son, to whom the Scripture tells us, *the* Father hath given all things, [*All Power in Heaven and Earth is given unto me:*] but *Patricius* is expreſs, that *Zoroaſter* never calls the Father Mind, though *Hermes* do.

Indeed in my Opinion *Hermes* ſpeaketh more expreſly of the **Son** and **Spirit**, and more conſonantly to the Sacred Scriptures, than *Zoroaſter*, for he ſaith of the *former*, Ὁ δὲ ἐκ νοῦ φαῦνος λόγος υἱὸς θεοῦ—*From the* [Firſt] *Mind* [proceeds] *the Lucid* Word, *the* Son *of God.* Which **Word** he often calls the *Son.* Ἐστὶ δὲ πατὴρ ἀρίστου καὶ τέλειος καὶ γένους γόνος υἱός, *He is the Iſſue of the moſt Perfect, the Perfect, the Begotten, the* Natural Son. *By* this *word*, he ſayes the Father made the *World*, ἡ πᾶσα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ πατὴρ οὐ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ λόγῳ, *The Great Creator, or Demiurgus, the Father, He* made *the whole* World, *not with hands, but by* [his] Word.

And

And for the *Spirit*, what clearer Testimony can be had of him than this. ὁ Θεὸς ἀρρενόθηλυς ὢν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς ὑπάρχων, ἀνοίγει λόγῳ ἕτερον νοῦν δημιουργόν, ὃς Θεὸς πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος ὤν, ἐδημιούργει. *God* [*the Father*] *Male Female, Life and Light, did by the* Word *principle another* Demiurgical Mind, *which being the God of Fire and Spirit, produced or effected* [the World.] In which Assertion, as in the Holy Scriptures, the *Third* Principle is compared to *Fire* and *Spirit*, he shall baptize you ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί, *with the Holy* Spirit *and Fire*; which Spirit *Hermes* also representeth as the Ligament and *band* of Union between the Father and Son, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὁ τούτου δεσμός, ἢ πνεῦμα μόνον ἀνέχον, *and there is no other* Union *of this, than the* Spirit *that containeth all things*. And it is this Spirit that he somewhere calls the *Life*; for speaking of the Father and the Son, he sayes, οὐ χωρισθέντες ἀλλήλων· ἕνωσις γὰρ τούτων ἡ ζωή, *they are indistant from*

from one another; *for the* Life *is the Union* of these two; and so the Scripture speaks, which also calls the *Spirit*, the *Life*.

But in regard the Works of *Hermes* and *Zoroaster* are esteemed by many but *Pious frauds*, though perhaps it were no hard task to evidence them very Antient, and to restore them to their former credit, (a piece of Justice that the Learned *Patricius* hath in part done them;) I shall therefore add some *other* Testimonies not obnoxious to such suspicions, in confirmation both of them, and of the truths I have design'd to evince.

Not that I will much insist *on* the *Trinity* of the Antient *Orpheus*, or his Three Creators and Makers of the World, (which some say he calls *Phanes*, *Uranos* and *Chronos*) concerning which you may peruse *Reuchlin* and *Morney*; nor *on* the Testimonies of the *Sibyls*, which yet are very plain and express; nor *on* the three Kings of *Plato* neither, under

In Reuch. l. 3. de verb. mir. c. 5. Nor, Calum & Aether.

Morney of Truth of Christian Religion, c. 6.

Vid. Aug. de Civit. l. 10. c. 29. under that Notion, of which *Patricius* whom I have so often mentioned, speaketh; or *on* this, that *Plato* in *Gorgias* (if you will believe the Learned *Du port*) teacheth, ἢ Ὅμηρον (*autorem* scil. *fuisse*) ἢ τὴν δημιουργικῶν τριάδικῆς ὑποστάσεως, *That* Homer *was Author of the Trine subsistence of the Demiurgical Principles.*

Du-port Gram. Homer p. 86.

The *first* I will insist upon is, that of the *Pythagoreans*, who as *Aristotle* noteth in his Book *de cœlo*, affirmed, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν τριῶν ὥρισται· *That the Universe and all things in it are terminated by* three: And it was, as *Plutarch* tells us, one of the Placits of *Pythagoras*, ——— *Diis superis* impari *numero sacrificare, inferis* pari, *That the number of the Sacrifices offered to the Celestial Gods should be* Odd, but to *the Infernal Even.* Now we know *Pythagoras* had been initiated in *Ægypt*, into the Mysteries of *Hermes*, and in *Chaldæa*, into those of *Zoroaster*, and not unlikely in honour of the *Doctrine* of the Trinity wherein he was in-

Arist. de Cœl. l. 1. c. 1.

Plut. in Num.

Vid. Apul. Florid. l. 1.

instructed, he might put this Honorary Mark upon the *Ternary* number, and Vogue it *Sacred* and Divine; which also others did as well before, as after him. So *Homer*,

——*Τριχθὰ δ' πάντα δέδασται.* Vid. Dacier. ubi supra.

All things are divided three manner of wayes.

So *Theocritus*. Theocr. in Pharmaceut.

Ter *libo, terque hac pronuncio mystica* verba.

Ἐς τρὶς ἀναλείβω, καὶ τρὶς τάδε πάντα φανοῦμαι.

So *Virgil*,

——*Numero Deus* impare *gaudet*.

So *Ovid*,

Et digitis tria *thura* tribus *sub limine ponit*.

And how irrefragable a *Testimony* of the Doctrine of the *blessed Trinity*, that it was not utterly concealed and hid from the Antients, is this of *Aristotle*,

Arist. de Cœlo, l. 1. c. 1.

Διὸ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἰληφότες ὥσπερ νόμον ἀεὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιότητας τῶν θεῶν χρώμεθα τῷ ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ. *Wherefore receiving it from* Nature *as a* Law *of her establishment, we are wont to use this* Number [*viz.* the Ternary.] *in the Solemn* Worship *of the Gods.* And how could this Usage *so* obtain [*so Universally* as to be thought a Sanction, Law and Ordinance of *Nature*] but that it was received by Tradition from the first and common Parents, and so diffused all over? So little reason had Cardinal *Bassarion* to deride *Trapezontius.*

But not to importune you with all that might be said, I will only offer one consideration more to make it plain, which is, that the Antient *Roman Pontifs*, who is likely might receive the custom from

Py-

Pythagoras, were in their *Imprecations*, their *Vota*, or Solemn Invocations of Divine Goodness and Clemency, wont to hold *Three fingers up Erect*, the other two depressed on the Palms of their hands, as who would say, imploring from the blessed Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that good and blessing they Desired.

That this was an Antient Custom among the *Romans* (and, as, *Galatinus* saith, the High-Priest among the *Jews*, when he pronounc'd within the Sanctuary, the *Nomen Tetragrammaton*, or name *Jehovah*, did the like) is proved by the learned, *Reuchlin*, who affirmeth that for this Reason their Imprecations, Vows, or Blessings were called **Indigitaments**. So *Imprecari*, in *Festus Pompeius* is *indigitari*; which word, though by occasion of the Ignorance of Persons uninitiated in the Mysteries, it were read, and now is written **IN [INDIGITARI]** yet antiently, and in the Pontifs

Galat. in Ep. ad Reuchlin.

Books, it was not so, but **TRI-DIGITARI**, thus **III DIGITARI**; as they were wont to write One that had been thrice Consul, **III COSS.** You may see more of this in *Reuchlin.*

Reuchl. in Ep. ad Galatas.

Again, and what among the Learned is more discourse of than the *Trinity of Plato?* who in his *Timæus* mentions **One**, ὁ δὲ δὴ γε τίνος ἕνεκα ἐγένετο, *An Eternal Being* Ingenite; whom he afterwards calls ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός, *The Maker and* Father *of this Universe*; and who is this but God the **Father** *Almighty?* Then he mentions a **Begotten God**, διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα ἐπιδείματα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐγεννήσας, *For all these Reasons did He* beget *this Blessed God.* By which truly I think he understood not the *Intelligible* World, or that *Idea* and *exemplar of the sensible*, extant in the mind of God from all Eternity, which he calleth παράδειγμα αἰώνιον, *The Eternal Form or Model*, but this

Plat. in Tim.

this *sensible one*, or Nature, which none can once question that but readeth what he *further* saith of this Begotten God, οἷος δὴ πᾶς ἦν ὁ λογισμὸς οὗτος ἀεὶ περὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα θεὸν λογισθεὶς λεῖος καὶ ἰσοπαλὲς, πανταχῇ, ἐκ μέσου ἴσον καὶ ὅλον καὶ σῶμα ἐποίει. *Such indeed was the Eternal Ratiocination of God about the* Future God, *which he made smooth and Equable* on every side, *and from the middle* rising up evenly, *a* Body *Perfect and absolute, composed of absolute and Perfect* Ones. This is *Plato* his Begotten-God, or the Son of God; not that Intelligible World existent in the mind of God, but the Sensible produced by it; and of the same mind is *Timæus Locrus*, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς κόσμον—*God made this* World, *&c. which* afterwards he calls the *Son* of God, or the Begotten-God, διαλογιζόμενος δὲ ἄρτιον γεννᾶμα ποιῆσαι, τοῦτον ἐποίει θεὸν γενητὸν, *God willing to beget a most fair and beautiful* Offspring, *produced* this Begotten-God [the World.]

Plat. in Tim. p. 34. Ed. Stephani.

Tim. Locr. de An. Mun.

But to Return to *Plato*, we have him mentioning *another Principle* which he calleth ψυχὴ or **Soul**, for he supposeth that the sensible World is an *Animal* or living Creature, and that this ψυχὴ is the Principle that doth enliven and animate it, of which he saith, Ὅτι καὶ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ ἀρετῇ πρεσβυτέραν, καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ψυχὴν σώματος, ὡς δεσπόσαν καὶ ἄρχουσαν ἀρχομένου κατεστήσατο, [But he Begot] *the* Soul [of the World] *a thing superiour to, and before the Body both in Generation and in Vertue, and set it over it as a Lady to Rule and Govern it.* And of this he speaketh in his tenth Book of Laws, wherein he seems to make it to be God, δῆλον δὲ τὸν θείου ψυχὴν φαῦλον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ κόσμου πάντος, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ὃν εἰρήκαμεν. *It is manifest that* the Best soul [God] *must be affirmed to* superintend *the whole Universe, and to act and rule it in that way and method which we have mentioned.*

Plat. in Tim. p. 34.

Plat. l. 10. de leg.

So near this Great Truth was *Plato*, and had he acquiesced in the General account thereof, which it seems he had received from the *Antients*, with the Tradition of the Generation or *Creation* of the World, (which I am the apter to believe he did, because as *Moses* hints a Trinity in His *Genesis*, whence the Evangelist *John* derives his, so doth *Plato* in *Timaeus*, or the *Heathen Genesis*.) I say, had not *Plato* been too curious to pry into a Mysterie too hard for him to comprehend, but had acquiesced in the General account received, *he* might have passed for a very Good and Orthodox believer (of it.) For what is more agreeable to Christian Doctrine, than that there is a *Father without Beginning*, that there is a *Blessed Begotten-God*, as who would say the *Son*, and that there is a *Soul* or *Spirit* [proceeding from the Father and Son] *who doth inspire all* the Motions in the whole Universe, and Who doth *govern* them all?

But

But the *Gloss* and Comment of *Plato* (as may be inferred from what I have Discoursed of it already out of his *Timæus*) is not as Orthodox and Christian as the *text* it self, and no wonder, when among Christians, and in the advantage of the Gospel Light and Dispensation, there is so little Understanding of the Mysterie, and that little so imperfect, that even *most* of us may have as much Reason to correct the *Boldness*, Presumption, Temerity of most of our pretending and splendid Talk upon it, and explications of it, as *Plato* had to correct his, *which* yet *he piously did.* We may as well say in this matter, when we have said the most we can, and the best, as he sayes, ἀλλά πως ἡμεῖς πολὺ μετήχθημεν τῶν θεσπεσίων τι καὶ οἷα πάντῃ τε καὶ λίχνοι; *but how* rashly *and* inconsiderately *do we speak in this matter* [which is so much above us?] By *this* it seems, that what he wrote by way of *explication* of the Trinity, was not so much what he believed of it *Himself*,

Plat. in Tim. f. 34.

Himself, but what the People, of whose capacity he had consideration and respect, could bear.

For however in *Timæus* he disguises the matter, 'tis most certain he believed *better* himself. For what belief is more agreeing to the Christian Doctrine, or more Orthodox than this? That there is a *God the Governour* and *Cause* of all the world, and of all things in it, those that are, and those that shall be. And that there is a *Father of that Universal Governour and Cause* of all things: As who would say, that there is *God the Son*, invested in all the *Power* both in Heaven and Earth; and there is *God the Father*, who is the *Origin* and Source of all that Power, from whom the Son derives and receives it. And this Belief was *Plato's*. You shall have his own words——— ἢ δ' ὃν πάντων θεὸν ἐγκάλουμεν ἢ τι ἔστιν, ἢ ἢν μαλλόν τιν, τῷ τι ἐγκαλοῦντ' ἢ αὖ πάντα πατέρα κόσμου ὀνομαζόντων——— *Swearing by the* God the **Governour** *of All, both of things that*

Plat. Tp. 6. Ed. Steph.

that are, and *of things that shall be, and by the* Lord *the* Father *of this Cause and Governour.* Τὸ δὲ ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦμεν, εἰείμεθα πάντες σοφοί, εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων εὐτυχεῖνες. *Of whom, if we philosophize truly and aright, we shall all have as clear a knowledge as Happy men are capable of.*

I am the more confirmed in the Pertinency of the present text, by the Judgement passed on it by One of the most Learned, as well as the most Antient of the Christian Fathers: Σιωπῶ δὲ (*saith Clemens Alexandrinus*) Πλάτωνα ἀστεῖος· ὃς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἔραστον καὶ Κορίσκον ἐπιστολῇ φανερῶς πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, &c. *For I mention not* Plato. *He in his Epistle to* Erastus *and* Coriscus, *speaketh plainly of the* Father *and* Son, *&c.*

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

It might be added by way of Confirmation to the *sense* that I have given of *Plato*, that the *Platonists* have had the like; for proof whereof I will but offer what I find in *St. Austin*, "That the Good

Aug. de civ. l. 10. c. 29.

"Si ni-

"*Simplicianus* (afterward Bishop of "*Milan*) told him, that a certain "*platonist* said in his hearing, that "the *beginning* of *St. John*'s Go-"spel, viz. *In the Beginning was the* "*word, and the Word was with God,* "and onward to the end of *v.* 5. "was worthy to be written in let-"ters of *Gold*, and to be read in "the Highest places of all *Temples*. And *Amelius*, as *Vives* on *St. Austin* cites him, has the very words of the Evangelist, and quotes him. And *this* for *Plato*.

I might also instance in *other* Gentile Writers that do seem to hint somewhat of this Divine Mysterie, and there are who think there is no other meaning of the *Pallas* born of *Jupiters* brain, (of which both Poets and Philosophers have spoken so much) than that God the *Son* the Saviour of the World, is the *Divine wisdom*, begotten of the Fathers Understanding; and because his Generation is Transcendent, and Unspeakable, to signifie her being so, *Pallas*

Vid. Steuc. de perenni phil. l. 1. & 2.

Herodian l. 1.

Pallas her Image (as *Herodian* has assured us) was by the *Romans* Worship't and Adored ἀρρήτῳ καὶ ἀόρατον, Hid and Unseen. *Again*, how plain a Testimony to the Son of God the WORD, is that of *Zeno* in *Laertius*, and how agreeable to Christian Doctrine! *viz. that there are two Principles*, τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν, *an* Active, *and a* Passive *Principle*; that the *Passive Principle is matter, but that the* Active *Principle effecting All*, is *the* WORD *who is* God. For so I take it we may well translate his τὸ δὲ πάθος ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ ΛΟΓΟΝ ὁ Θεός. Of which Word he farther saith, *that it is* Eternal, *and that it* maketh *all things that are made in the* whole *Extent and Latitude of matter*, Τοῦτον δὲ ὅλα διὰ παντὸς αὐτῆς δημιουργεῖν λέγει.

Laert. in Zen.

And for the Holy Spirit, there is not only a *general* Testimony given to it by *Poets* and *Philosophers*, who conformably to that of *Moses* in *Genesis*, acknowledged a Ψυχὴ or Common *Spirit* of the World.

So

So *Ovid*,

Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus Illo,
Spiritus hic celsa semina Mentis habet.

Virgil.

Spiritus intus alit, totamq; infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

So *Manilius*. Manil. l. 2. c. 2.

Hoc opus immensi constructum corpore mundi,
Membraq; naturæ diversa condita forma,
Aeris atq; ignis, terræ, pelagique jacentis.
Vis animæ divina regit, sacroq; meatu
Conspirat Deus, & tacita ratione gubernat,
Et multa in cunctas dispensat fœdera partes.

But

But a most *particular* one both as to its being God, and which is the Scriptural Notion, its Indwelling, Inspiring, Ruling and Governing in man, Pray hear *Seneca*, *Prope est à te* Deus (saith he to *Lucilius*) *tecum est, intus est. God is not far from thee, He is with thee, He is in thee. Ita dico Lucili,* (later *intra nos* Spiritus *sedet*, &c. *This I say O* Lucilius, *a* Holy Spirit *resideth in us, who is the Observer and Register of all the Good and Evil we do; This useth us, as he is used by us. There is no* Good man *without* God. *How can any raise himself* above *the Danger of Fortune, if not assisted by Him! it is* He *that inspires Great and Generous* Counsels. *Once, it is certain a* God *dwelleth in every Good man, though* what *that God is, is not* Certain. Thus *Seneca*, so like the Apostle, *You art the* Temples *of the* Holy Ghost.

Sen. Ep. 41.

And so much for the *Trinity* as far as it was known among the *Gentiles*, who, if you will believe *Macrobius*,

crebius, as Fabulous and Idle as they were in other matters, were not in the least so in this: for saith he, *cum de his inquam loquuntur* summo Deo & Mente (of which latter he had said before that it was *nata & profecta ex summo Deo*) *nihil fabulosum penitus attingunt.* *Macrob. Satura l. 1. c. 2. Vid. Apul. l. de Philos.*

That the World *had a* Beginning, was the *General belief* of most that ever lived in it, and *Aristotle* himself as good as tells us, that all *Philosophers* before him owned it. Yes, and that *it was Produced by the* ΛΟΓΟΣ *or* Divine Word, was also asserted not only by the *Ægyptians* and *Assyrians*, who, if we may believe *Hermes* and *Zoroaster*, plainly did so, but by many *Greeks*, particularly, by *Zeno* in *Laertius* in the text before cited, and by *Plato* in his *Epinomis*, in these Terms: Συναπτελῶν κόσμον ὃν ὑπὲξ λόγου ὁ πάντων δεσπότης ἐστὶν——— *together finishing——the world, which the* World *the most Divine* *Vid. Lirum ap. Laert. Plat. in Euthy. Arist. de Cœl. l. 1. c. 10.* *Zen. ap. Laert. ubi supra. Plat. in Epinom.*

All things had made Visible. St. Austin in his Confessions sayes that he had read the beginning of St. *Johns* Gospel [*In the beginning was the word*] in *Plato*, but not in the same words.

That **Angels were Created**, and *before man*, and for his *advantage and Utility*, and consequently, that then they were not *Devils* or enemies to man, was asserted by the famed *Apollo*, in one of his Oracles, Ἐκπάλαι καὶ ἡμῶν θείας τε κοσμῷ γενέσεως ἀρδαῖα πνεύματα εἰς ἡμέτερον χρέος. *Before us, and before the Divine Production of the world, there were* Immortal Spirits created, *for our* Utility.

Æn. Gazæus in Theophrast. Vid. Stoub. de perv. phil. l. 3. c. 12, 14.

That *there was an* **Apostasie** *or fall of some of those Angels*, among whom there was a Chieftain whom they called *Typhon* or **the Devil**, [*Isidis nomine Terram, Osiridis amorem*, Typhonis *Tartarum accepimus*] who degenerating from their Proper Natures, *instead of continuing friends, became the mortal enemies*

Plu. de If.

of

of God and man, is plainly intimated in the *Doctrine* of the Antient *Theologues*, who, as *Macrobius* tells us, and as I minded you before, affirmed the *Body to be Hell*; and that *Souls* were sent into it but by way of Punishment, to expiate that Guilt they had contracted long before.

And indeed the great *Hypothesis* of **Pre-existence** of *Souls*, though as stated and interpreted by *Hierocles*, it seem a Depravation of the History of the Fall of Man, yet as displayed by *Plato* himself in *Phædrus*, what is it other than a *Disguise of that Tradition of the Fall of the Angels?* which we may Presume transmitted to *him*, and conveyed from most antient times. *Plat. in Phædr.*

For there he treateth of a *threefold* condition of the *Soul* or Mind, *one* before its Immersion in the Body, while it was above in Heaven; the *other* after its immersion in the Body, while it is in Union and Conjunction with it, and how it came to be so; the *third* the state of

Separation and Dis-union from the Body again, and what becomes of it then.

He saith of the *Soul*, that *before* its Immersion into this Terrestrial Body, she was τελεία καὶ ἐπτερωμένη, *Perfect* and *Winged*, and that while she was so, she did μετεωροπολεῖν, *she kept above, flying as she pleased over all the world*; but afterward, by reason of her turpitude and Pravity, the Feathers falling from her wings, she *sunk* lower, and at last, meeting with convenient matter in this Inferiour *Region*, took up her residence and habitation in *it*.

This is his *Notion* of the Pre-existence of souls, and of the cause of their incorporation in *terrestrial Vehicles* or Bodies, which in his own terms you may read in his *Phadrus* thus. Τὸ γὰρ θεῖον καλὸν, σοφὸν, ἀγαθὸν, καὶ πᾶν ὅ,τι τοῦτο· τούτοις δὲ τρεφόμενόν τε, καὶ αὔξον μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πτέρωμα· ἀπόλλυσι γὰρ καὶ κακῷ, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις φθίνει τε καὶ φθείρεται, &c. *The Divine Nature is Amiable, Wise, Good*, and *whatever*

whatever else Resemble this, *and by* these *the* Wing *of the Soul is chiefly both nourisht and augmented, but by contrary things, as Turpitude and Pravity*, &c. *it is* clipped *and dissolved*; The feathers fall off.

And, who seeth not in this *Hypothesis* or Notion, that he supposeth there were *Unconcreted Minds* or Spirits which fell, and left their first Habitation, which in their state of Fall or Apostasie not concerned with terrestrial Bodies, are *Dæmons*, and concerned, are *Souls?* Souls and Dæmons differing in no other wise with *Plato*, than according to the Notion of a Learned Person that understands him well enough, as Swords in *Scabbards* do from Swords without them.

And truly to render my Discourse on this matter beyond Exception, I am but to demonstrate *this* the *sense* of many of the *Antients*, namely, That *Souls and Angels differ not in substance, but only in condition and state*; which that *it* was, you will

easily be induced to believe when I have proved it Received even among the *Jews*, who not unlikely might derive the same as well as many other of their Vulgar *Placita*, from the *Greek Philosophers*.

Vid. Aug. de Civ. l. 9. c. 11.

And that it was a Received (though false) Opinion among the *Jews*, is evident from that of those Disciples met together to Pray for *Peter*, who on *Rhoda's* insisting that she heard his voyce at the Gate, whom they knew before in Prison, and then Imagined Dead, conclude it was his **Angel**, that is, not his *Guardian* as the most think, nor his *Messenger* as some, for it would not follow from the *Premises*, it was *Peters* voyce, therefore his Guardian Angel; or it was *Peters* voyce, therefore 'tis his Messenger; but that it was his *Spirit*, or as we call it his *Ghost*, his *Spectrum*, his *Apparition*; Mens Ghosts (therefore called Apparitions) usually appearing in the same shape, and dissembling the same voyce that was owned by

Act. 12. 15. Vid. Bez. in loc.

by the living Persons whom they Represent.

Nor is this Interpretation groundless, or a meer conceit, for I find in *Philo* a passage that will much contribute both to illuminate and strengthen it, for he saith, *That the belief that* Souls, Genius's, and Angels *do not differ really and in deed, so much as* nominally *and in name, will effectively redeem and free the mind from grievous* Superstition; and so *Apuleius*, Animus *humanus etiam nunc in corpore situs*, Dæmon *nuncupatur*, *that the* Soul of *man even while it yet resideth in the Body, is called a* Dæmon, or Angel.

Philo Jud. l. de Gigant.

Apul. l. de Deo Socrat.

In a word, *That there is a* Devil *as well as a God, an* Evil Principle *the* cause *of all the Evil in the world, as well as a* Good, *the* Author *of every Good and Perfect Gift*, was a *common* Tenent in Antient times. *Zoroaster*, Father of the *Magi*, held there was an *Oromazes*, and an *Arimanius*, and conform to the Scriptures, adds, *de rebus sub sensum ca-*

Zor. apud Plutar. l. de Osir.

cadentibus illum *maxime similem esse* Luci, hunc Tenebris *& ignorationi: That the* One *was best compared to* Light, *the* other *to* Darkness *and Ignorance.* Of which Opinion also were the *Greeks* [Philosophers and Poets] *Qui* (saith *Plutarch*) bonam *partem* Jovi Olympio, malam Diti *Averruncо assignant, who ascribe all* Good *to the* God *of* Heaven, *and all the* Evil *in the World to the* Devil *of* Hell. Yes sayes *Plutarch* most emphatically, Vetustissima *autem sacrarum professoribus rerum, & legum latoribus derivata est Opinio,* Autore *incognito,* fide firma *&* indelebili, *non in* sermonibus *ea tantum, & in rumoribus, sed & in* mysteriis *ac Sacrificiis, tam* Barbaris *quam* Græcanicis *extans.* What *neque* casu *ferri, & à* fortuna *pendere* Universum, *mente, ratione ac Gubernatore* destiturum: *neque unicam* esse *rationem quæ continent id & dirigat tanquam* clavum aut fræna moderans. *Sed cum per multa è* bonis

Plutarch. ubi supra.

Plutar. de Is. & Osir.

juxta

juxtà malisque *sunt* confusa——— Ergo *à* **duobus** *Principijs* **contrariis**, *adversisque duabus facultatibus, quarum* Altera *ad* **Dextram** *&* recta *ducat*, altera **retrorsum** *avertatur, atque reflectat, cùm* vitam *esse* mixtam, *tum ipsum mundum*, &c.

And more than this, It was a common Tenent amongst them, *that between the* Good *and* Evil *Principle there was* **War** *commenced, and carryed on in the world*, which *under the management and conduct of a* **third** *or middle* One, *called by Zortaster Mithra*, and as *Plutarch* tells us, by the *Persians Mesites*, Mediator, by the *Greeks Harmonia*, Agreement, **It** was in conclusion to be finisht by the **Ruine** of *Arimanius*; All which the Author last mentioned, in his Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, shews at large, wherein, with many other, you may read the following Passage. Oromazan *natum aiunt è* luce *purissima*, Arimanium *è* caligine, *eos* **bellum** *inter*

Plutar. de Is. & Osir.

inter se gerere. Sex Deos fecisse Oromazan, *primum* Benevolentiæ, *secundum* Veritatis, *tertium* Æquitatis, *reliquos* Sapientiæ, Divitiarum & Voluptatis, *quæ honesta consequitur opificem*: Arimanium *totidem numero his* adversa *efficientem.* This shews the *Nature* of the War; and for the *Success* and event of it, hear *Theopompus.* Theopompus *ait de sententia* Magorum *victibus per mille annorum alterum Deorum superare, alterum succumbere; & per alia tria annorum millia, bellum eis inter se gerere, pugnare, & alterum alterius opera demoliri:* Tandem Plutonem deficere & tunc Homines *fore* Beatos, *neque* alimento utentes, *neque* umbram edentes. *when all the Devils works are Demolisht, and his Government overthrown,* then *blessed and happy shall men be.* [They shall be as the Good Angels;] *they shall not live on Elementary Aliment, but they shall have* glorious and heavenly Bodies. So I interpret that

Theopomp. ap Plutarc. de Is. & Osir.

that, *neque umbras edentes.*

That *man was created* upright *and in the Divine Image*, and that *He was Invested in a state of* honour *as well as of* Innocence, *and had at first bestowed upon him, all the* Creatures *God had made*, I have already evinced known among the Gentiles (in the little Treatise that occasioned your Letter) not only by the *Testimonies* of the *Poets*, *Hesiod* and *Ovid*, but of grave *Philosophers*, of *Plato*, of *Hierocles*, and of others: And therefore I will add here but *one* more, and that shall be out of *Hermes*, Ὁ Ὃ πάντων πατὴρ, νοῦς, οὖσα, καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ φῶς ἀνώνυμος ἢ ἀνθρωπον ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, ὃν ἠγάπησε ὡς ἰδίου παῖδα, ἐκαλλώπισε γὰρ ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνα ὄντως γὰρ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἠράσθη τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς, καὶ αὐτῷ παρέδωκε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα δημιουργήματα. *The Father of all, the Mind, Being, Life and Light produced* man *in his* likeness, *in whom he was delighted as in his* Off-spring, *for he was very beautiful, and lovely, bearing the* Image *of the* Father. *And in*

Herm. in Pœmand. ex edit. Patric.

in very deed God was in love *with his own* similitude, *and assigned over unto him all that he had made.*

That *Men* fell, *and by* Temptation *of the Devil*, *or* Serpent, *were cheated out of Paradise*, was a Truth no less acknowledged among the Heathen, than that they once *stood*: of which, as I have given several Testimonies in my former Discourse, so you may find more in *Morney* and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, who both make the Table of *Ophioneus* (whom *Cœlius Rhodiginus* calls *Dæmonicum Serpentem*, the *Devilish Serpent*, and Leader of *the Rebels and Apostates from God*) to be a Depravation of the History of *Moses* concerning mans fall effected by the crafty Serpent. Once, *that man at first was taken up in Contemplation and Enjoyment of the Great Creator, but that afterwards* converting *to the Creature*, *instead of walking in the* way of *Understanding*, *which lyes above to the Wise*, *and of conforming*

De Ophionis tractatu vid. Phereyd. 1 Syr. et Max. Tyr. Dis. 29. assert.

forming to the Dictates of the superiour faculties, *he took the* lower way *of Sense and Appetite, and so, of a man became a* Brute, *and of Free a Vassal, sold to Sin and Lust.*] *As* it is *hinted* in the *Metamorphosis* and Transmutations of the *Pythagoreans* and *Poets*, wherein they feigned men transformed into the shapes of Beasts; so it is *expressed* plainly by *Iamblicus. Contemplabilis ipse in se Intellectus homo, erat* quondam *Deorum contemplationi conjunctus*, deinde *vero* alteram *ingressus est animam, circa humanam forma speciem coaptatam, sive contemperatam, atque propterea in ipso necessitatis, fatique* vinculo *est alligatus.*

Iambl. de Myst. ex Edit. Ficini.

Nor *were they less acquainted with the* way *of mans* **Recovery**, *and with the method wherein he is to be restored again unto felicity*, than with his fall, and the cause of it. For as they took the Fall and Infelicity of man, to consist in his *Oblivion* and Forgetfulness of God,

God, and in a foolish forsaking of himself (abused as he was by false Appearances,) to Lust and Sensitive Appetite, instead of firm adhering to Reason; so they understood his *Liberation* and Redemption from that Servitude and Bondage, no otherwise to be Effected, than by his again *Recovering that Acquaintance and Knowledge of God*, which he had formerly lost. *This is life Eternal* to know *thee*, sayes our *Saviour*; and the same saith *Iamblicus*, who speaks as much as here I have, both as to the *Fall* of man, and to his *rise*. *Considerare itaque decet* qua *præcipue* ratione *ab ejusmodi vinculis* solvi *potest*; *est autem* **Solutio** *nulla præter ipsam* Deorum cognitionem. **Idea** *namq; felicitatis est ipsum* cognoscere bonum. *Quemadmodum est &* **Idea** *malorum, ipsa quidem* Bonorum oblivio; *& fallacia circa malum*, &c.——*Hæc autem à* Principiis **cadens**, *atque repulsa, seipsam projicit ad* corporalem Ideam *dimetiendam*.

Iamb. de Myst. ex Edit. Ficini.

That

That *the Gentiles had heard of the* **Promise of Christ**, *or* **God Incarnate**, *and that some among them* looked *for him*, is not obscurely intimated by the *Prophet* in the Attribute he gives him, that he was the **Desire of all Nations.** For though the Incarnation of God, or as our Apostle, the manifestation of him in the flesh, be a thing of so much difficulty to be apprehended, that in the Judgement both of *Epicurus* and *Laertius*, it is no less than plain folly and madness to believe it,

Quippe etenim mortalem æterno jungere, *&* *una*
Constare, & putare & fungi mutua posse,
Desipere *est.*———

Yet 'tis Undenyable that *many* as well Philosophers as others thought it *possible*; And I make no question but moved by some old Tradition, they earnestly *expected* such an One

to

to come; of which there are no Dark Evincements.

For not to insist on what the Noble *Morney* hath so closely pressed, that *Julian* himself believed *Æsculapius* the Son of *Jupiter* to have descended from Heaven, to be incarnate, to have appeared among men as a man, in order to the restitution of both souls and bodies to their Pristine Perfection; I say, not to stay on that, 'Tis evident as well from *Aristotle* in his *Ethicks*, as from others, that they thought the like of *Many*, [great and eminent Persons among them;] of All which, that I may not too much exercise your Patience with instancing in more than need, I will elect but two for *Examples*.

Arist. Eth. Nicom. l. 7. c. 1.

For what did many of them think of great Pythagoras, but what we believe of *Jesus Christ*, *that* he was the *Son* of *God*, a God incarnate, sent to men in Humane shape on purpose to Reform and Correct their lives, and by his own example to

Jamb. de vit. Pythag. l. 2. c. 2.

to inflame and kindle in them ardent affections and desires after true Philosophy and Happiness. And *Aristotle* meant no less, when in a Book he wrote of the *Pythagorean* Philosophy, he maketh mention of a certain *Distribution* of Beings possessed of Reason, that was (he sayes) preserved of Holy men as one of the greatest and **most Sacred Mysteries** they had in keeping; *viz.* That *it was either* God, *or* Man, *or as Pythagoras*, as who would say as **God-man**, or One Participating both. τὸν λογικὸν ζῶον, τὸν μὲν θεὸν, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρωπον, τὸν δὲ ἀφ' ἑκατέρου.

Arist. apud Jambl. l. 1. de vit. Pythag. c. 6.

And that you may not fancy I have put a false interpretation on the Text of *Aristotle*, or have affirmed more of *Pythagoras* than ever entred into Humane Cogitation in respect of him before, you shall have as much as I have said of him, represented to you by *Jamblicus*, who wrote his Life; as the common sentiment of very many of

Jambl. de vit. Pythag. l. 1. c. 6.

Old. Ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλοι θεῖ ἐπιφοίτου θεῶν ἐφίμοζον, εἰς ἀφέλειαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν θνητῶν βίου, λέγοντες ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ μορφῇ φανῆναι τοῖς τότε, ἵνα τὴν τῆς ἀδικίας τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας αὐτόματον ἐπιστροφὴν χαρίσηται τῇ θνητῇ φύσει——*But others reported him to be one of the* Cœlestial Gods [who came] *for the* Benefit *and* Reformation *of the mortal Life, Affirming that he appeared in* humane Form *to men, that he might* graciously afford *to* corrupt *nature, a* saving *Incentive both to Philosophy and Blessedness.*

And little less was said of **Plato**, another great Luminary or Star that shined in the Gentile Orb; for of him *Speucippus*, *Clearchus*, and *Anaxalides* in *Laertius* affirm it commonly discours'd at *Athens*, that he was *born* of a *woman who had never known man*, and consequently, that he was begotten of *God*. For when *Ariston* his reputed Father would have taken that Possession of *Perictthiona* (for so the Mother of *Plato* was call'd) which the Marri-

age

age Condition did entitle him, and give him Right unto, he could not possibly effect it, but was *Restrained* by *Apollo*, whom he saw in a Vision Protecting and defending Her from his Embraces, to keep her pure until she was delivered of *That* with which she went. The Story is known and to be seen both in *Laertius* in the life of *Plato*, and in *Illustrius*. So far from being incredible is that Essential Part of the History of *Christ*, that he was born of a *Virgin*, and conceived by the Holy Ghost.

Laert. in vit. Platon. Illustr. de Philos. in Platon.

And *what* I pray you should *incline* the Heathen to imagine Extraordinary Persons to have been *begotten* of *God*, or to be *Gods incarnate*, but what *mov'd* the *Jews* in the Gospel to think that Jesus Christ was *that* Prophet they lookt for, and others of them to imagine *Simon* the *Ægyptian*, and some *Barchochebas* to be the *Messiah*? Namely, that they were informed there was *such an one to come*, whom accordingly

they did *expect*, and the extraordinary and surprizing *advantages* of which the Persons they beheld with admiration were possessed, *inclined* them to believe that this or that was *he*. And indeed the frequent Apparition of the Angel of the Covenant [the Lord Christ] to the Patriarchs, might be also some occasion of this Belief.

But this may pass but for a Probable *Conjecture*. It is certain *Job* was a Gentile, *that* he lived in the Land of *Uz*, and that he saw his Redeemer; and as certain *that Balaam*, another Gentile, Prophesied of Christ, and saw his Day: and *that* the *Magi* or Wise men in the Evangel, had *such* Discoveries of our Blessed Saviour, and such *Conduct* to him, as none other Mortal ever had the like, which ought to be noted. Nor shall I blush to Urge the Testimony of the **Sibylls**, on which so many Antient and Learned Fathers have insisted as on their Principal Plea: There are many scatter'd up

and

and down his Institutions by the Elegant *Lactantius*, and summed up by *St. Austin*, which I will not touch: I will only mention the *Acrostich* which I find in *Vives* his Notes upon *St. Austin*, taken out of *Eusebius*; and I the rather pitch on this, because I find in *Cicero*, some speech of such an *Acrostich* of one of the *Sibylls*, written with much Art, that should speak (as this doth) of a **KING** that was to come, whereof you may hear more anon.

Viv. ad August. de civ. l. 18. c. 23.

Vid. Sir. Stanf. Bibl. l. 2. f. 115, 116.

Ἰ δεῦρο καὶ χθὼν, κείνοις σημεῖον ἴσ' ἔσω·
Ἡ ξυν δ' ἐγερεῖται βασιλεὺς αἰῶνα τὸ μέλλον
Σ ἀρχὴ πεμπῶν κείνοις πᾶσιν ἐν κόσμοις ἄπασι·
Ὁ φανεῖται δ' ἀνὴρ μέγας πεμπὸ, καὶ ἄπαστι,
Ἴ φῶτα μὴ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἀπόπεμμα χθόνιον
Σ ἀγωνίζων, ψυχὰς δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐν βάμμασι κείνων.

Χ ἱερὸς ἐν ἀν πᾶν κόσμος ἐλθὼν, καὶ ἀγωνα γένοιο,
Ρ ἐξελεῖ τ' εἴδωλα βροτοῖς, καὶ πάντων ἄνασσα·
Ι χρῆσον βάξιν τε πόλεσι σήμαίνεις ἀθάνατο,
Σ ἀρξ πότε πάσαν νεκρῶν ἐς ἀναδίσιν φάος ἄξειν
Υ ἢν ἀγίων, ἀνέμοις καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀιῶνα ἀλέγξειν·
Ο ποῖα τε πρόξεις ἔλεγον, πότε πάντα κελεύσω,
Σ πάντα καὶ ζωρίσσα δοὺς φωτῶν ἀνάξειν.

Θ ῥῆσον δ' ἐκ τούτων ἔτυμ καὶ βρέγμα ἀδύνασον.
Ε κοιμῶν σίλας ἀκλὶς ἄγρον τε χρῶσι,
Ο ὑγρὸν αἰλίξειν, μαίνει δ' τε φύγγος ἀλεῖν·
Υ φόνον καὶ φάσγανα, ἀλεῖ δ', ὑφόμενα βεκῶν.

Υ φῶς

Ἀγ ἀθ δ' ἰκέν λυχνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπων φανῆ,
Ἴσ σε τ' ἔφ πολλοὺς ἔσω, καὶ πάντα δόλαστα
Ο ὐκ οἶς πᾶν ἔξω, γᾶ καὶ φυγεῖν κεκρυμμένῳ,
Σ ὠδ' πεφῦς πλαμαὶ κεχλάζωσι λείψεν.

Σ ἀλπυξ δ' ἀφαίδεν φάσιν πολύφρονα ἀρόνι
Ὠ γένοι μῦθ' μίλλον ἢ καὶ πάμπαν κόρμι.
Τ ἀπέρεν ἢ χάθ' πέτε ἄλξω γᾶα χεῦσι,
Ἠ ξεν δ' ἐαὶ βῆμα δεῦ βασιλῆς ἄπαξις,
Ρ εἶσι δ' ἀφαίδεν πεπαὶ πυξὶ, ἢ δὲ γ' δέα.

I *n sign of* DOOMES DAY, *the whole earth shall sweat:*
E *ver to Reign a King in Heavenly Seat*
S *hall come to Judge all flesh. The Faithful, and*
U *nfaithful too, before this God shall stand,*
S *eeing him high with Saints, in times last end.*

C orporeal *shall he sit, and thence extend*
H *is doom on Souls. The Earth shall quite lye waste,*
R *uin'd, o're-grown with Thorns, and men shall cast*
I *dols away, and treasure. Searching Fire*
S *hall burn the ground, and thence it shall enquire*
T *hrough Seas and Skie, and break Hells blackest Gates.*

S o shall free Light salute the blessed States
O f Saints; the Guilty lasting flames shall burn.
N o act so hid, but then to Light shall turn,
N o breast so close, but God shall open wide.
E ach where shall cryes be heard and noise beside

O f Gnashing teeth. The Sun shall from the Skie
F lye forth, and Stars no more move orderly;

G reat Heaven shall be dissolv'd, the Moon deprivd
O f all her Light, places at height arriv'd
D eprest, and Valleyes raised to their seat.

T here

T here shall be nought to Mortals
high or great.
H ills shall lye level with the Plains, the Sea
E ndure no burthen, and the Earth as they

S hall perish, cleft with Lightning: every Spring
A nd River burn: The fatal Trump shall ring
U nto the world, from Heaven a dismal blast
I Ncluding Plagues to come for ill deeds past.
O ld Chaos, through the cleft mass, shall be seen,
U nto this Barr shall all Earths Kings convene,
R ivers of Fire and Brimstone flowing from Heav'n.

Reuchlin. de verb. mirif. l. 3. c. 15.

To this I will but add a *Tristich* out of *Reuchline*, which (he sayes) he

he found among the *Sibylls*, though I fear it spurious;

Δὴ τότε καὶ μεγάλου Διὸς υἱὸς ἀνθρώποισιν
Ἥξει σαρκοφόρος δουλοῖς ἐμφαίνων ἐν γαίῃ,
Θνητοῖς φανήσεται φέρων τὸ δ' ἄφωνον ἐν αὐτῇ.

And which he thus translates,

Ipsa Dei soboles *magni ventura Parentis,*
Mortali similis sub carne videbitur agra,
Quatuor ergo ferat vocales consonat una.

The meaning is, *that the Son of God should be incarnate, and that his Name should be* Jesus, יהשוע IHSUH; as that Author interprets it. But of this, *Sit fides penes Authorem.*

But if the *Reputation* and Credit of the *Sibylls* be *Disputed*, concerning which I shall Presume to offer somewhat hereafter, *That* of *Poets* and *Philosophers* is more received; I will

Spotswood. Hist. of Ch. of Scot. l. 1. f. 3.

I will but mention the *Druids*, of whom I find in *Spotswood*, *that it is Reported that they* prophesied *of the* Incarnation *of the Son of God*; But in regard he citeth not his Author, and I my self have never met with any to strengthen that Assertion, I think it best to pass it over; as also what *Clemens Alexandrinus* citeth out of *Pindarus* about a *Saviour*, that should dwell with *Themis*: nor will I stand on what the Antient *Hermes*, after he had talked with *Pimander*, speaketh of himself [as a Type,] perhaps in that sense in which the Prophet *David* did, saying, *Thou wilt not suffer my soul in Grave*, nor thine *Holy One to see corruption*; So *Hermes*, Ἐγὼ δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς καθοδηγὸς ἐγενόμην τῶν γένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ λόγους διδάσκων πῶς καὶ τίνες σωθήσονται. *But I Raising them up again, was made the Guide of Mankind, shewing them the way How, and in what manner they may be* saved.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

Herm. in Pim. ex Eus. Præp.

Once, who hath heard of Jesus Christ,

Christ, that can without Reflection on him, read the *Greek* Stories of *Mercury*? when he shall find in them, *that* they make him *Leader* of the Graces; *that* they called him *Dictor*, a Messenger to go between the Gods and Men, and *Socus* or Saviour; *That* they assigned him a *Rod* with two *Serpents* twined about it, to indicate his Office, which was to make Peace, and to Destroy the Enmity; In fine, *That* he was the Son of *Jupiter*, begotten by him on *Maia*. All this and more too is to be read of *Mercury* in *Phornutus*, which he indeed jejunely applyes, as many other Antients also did, to *Speech*. But we are to understand it to carry deeper sense than so, which we shall more easily be induced to believe, if we Re-mind that *Admonition* (necessary for the comprehending both of this and like Discourses of the Poets and Antients) which *Plutarch* gives us; *Porro autem* fabulis *intendum est, non quasi ex rem prorsus doceant; sed quod ob* similitudinem

Phornut. de Nat. Deor.

Plutar. de Is. & Osir.

nem *cum reipsa aliquam, commodam ad ejus explicationem offertur, desumendum inde est. We are not so to use (the)* Fables (of the Antients) *as if they graphically did describe the Thing* [Discourſed of;] *but for some* Reſemblance *that they have with it, they do* Accommodate *and help us in its* explication: *which is the* Uſe *we muſt make of them.*

But that I may not tire you with *conſequential* Evidences, that to ſome will ſeem *far fetcht*, I will offer one or two ſo *manifeſt* and plain, as ſhall not only Reflect abundant confirmation on All already offer'd, but alſo effectually Demonſtrate (of themſelves) the Truth before us, *viz.* That the *Gentiles had a fair Proſpect of Chriſt, and* that *Philoſophers* as wary and as ſparing as they were in making mention of it, yet *they ſaw his Day.*

For *Plato* in his *Politicks*, after he had been diſcourſing of the Golden Revolution under *Saturn*, and had ſaid a many things thereon, ſeemeth

to

to correct himself for talking so Presumptuously of things so long ago, and out of ken, and therefore for fuller satisfaction, refers to one to come, *a fit and qualified Person, who would give them satisfactory information both in this and all things else of concern.* Ὅμως δ' ἐν τοῦτο μὲν ἀφῶμεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν Μαντεύσεται τις ἐφεξῆς παρόντος οἱ τίνα τε ἐπιδημίαν ἄγει. *But let us Adjourn this Discourse, Until a certain* **Fit MESSENGER** *come, who will tell,* &c.

Plat. in Polit. f. 272. ex Edit. Steph.

Indeed it would put the Faith of *Plato* above Question, were that true which *Alsted* tells us of it (he sayes) from *Boethius de Disciplina Scholastica*; That in *his* Sepulchre was found a Golden Lamin having engraven on it these words [*Credo in filium Dei nasciturum de Virgine*] *I believe in the Son of God that shall be born of a Virgin*; Had there such a *Lamin* so inscribed been indeed found in *Plato*'s Tomb, and were there no Conveyance of it in by Legerdemain or Pious Fraud, it would import

Alsted. Encyclop. l. 25. c. 3.

import much. But I am not credulous enough upon so slight motives, to believe his Faith so clear and so express, especially since I find not any mention of the Story, or any thing relating to it in *Boethius* himself, nor in truth in * any other but one whose very Relation is a Discredit, I mean in Sr. *John Mandevile*, who tells the Tale thus, "Once upon a time within the Church of "St. *Sophy* an Emperour would have "laid the Body of his Father when "Dead, and as they made the "Grave they found a body in the "earth, and upon the body lay a great "Plate of pure Gold, and thereupon was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek* "and *Latin* Letters these words, "*Jesus Christus nascetur de Virgine* "*Mariâ*, *& ego credo in eum.* "And it is thought *Hermanes* the "Wise man writ it. A pittiful Story and not found in the *Latin* Copy of the Travels as they are in *Purchas*.

* Since I find Dr. Dor. Ser. 2. p. 37. citing *Aquinas* for the Story.

Again,

Again, who can put a Tolerable Sense on that in *Cicero* concerning a King, without acknowledging the Prospect which the Gentiles had of *Christ*, and that indeed the *Sibyll* spake of him, though perhaps she were as little understood by most others, as by her own Interpreter, and by the *Orator* himself, who derides her? Sibyllæ *versus observamus, quos illa furens fudisse dicitur. Quorum* interpres *falsa quadam* hominum fama *dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum, quem revera* Regem *habeamus, appellandum quoque esse Regem, si* salvi *esse vellemus. Hic si est*, &c. *We observe the Verses of the* Sibyll, *which she is said to pour out in her fury: whose* Interpreter *very lately (it was thought) would have spoken in the Senate, That the* King *which we have indeed, ought also to be called* King *if we would* be safe. For which misapplication of the Text, the Interpreter doth as much fall under our Censure as *Cicero's*, for (as *Suetonius*)

Cic. de divin. l. 2.

Suton. in Vespat. c. 4.

Tacit. Hist. l. 5.

tonius) *Pervebuerat Oriente toto* Vetus & Constans *Opinio*: *esse in fatis*, *ut eo tempore* Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. *Tacitus* reports the same.

V. Porphyr. de Abstin. l. 2. s. 27. Cæs. Comment. l. 5. Curt. l. 4.

Again, the **Humane Sacrifices** which obtained among the Heathen all the World over, of which beside the Instances alledged in my former Essay, we have many more in *Porphyrie* and others, for Evincements; I say, their **Pharmaci** and **Catharmi** were but *Depravations* and *Disguises of that first Tradition of the Seed of the Woman*, or the *man Christ*, who by Divine appointment was to make his *Soul* an *Offering* for sin, and so to be the common *Pharmacus* or *Catharmus* for the whole Kind.

Nor is this a Notion so improbable and far fetcht, but that it is as capable of Demonstration as any thing of like nature. For had not this **Custom** *not* of sacrificing only, but of *sacrificing* **Men**, been bottomed on some mistaken *Tradition*,

dition, which the rest of the World had received from the *first Patriarchs*, in *whom* as in a common stock, the several Branches *concurred*; It cannot be imagined *how* it should become so *early*, and so *general* as Authentick Story witness it, *since* Nothing could obtain so *generally* in the *first* ages, when there was not such an Intercourse between the Nations to favour it, as in following times, but what either was a *prime dictate* of Reason, which a thing apparently Inhumane and *unreasonable* could not be, or else a *point* of *First Tradition*.

Vid. Dionys. Halicar. l. 1. Porphyr. de Abstin. l. 2. §. 54, 55, 56. Vid. Cæsar. Com. l. 6. Vid. infra.

Yes, *The Gentiles had a* Sense of Sin; *and of the Clemency* and Grace of *God*; as also that to *expiate* for the former, and to *procure* the latter, there was somewhat else Necessary beside Repentance and Reformation of the sinner (which yet the Modern *Jews* impertinently think enough.) For else, what mean all their Rites of Expiation and Lustration? All their Applications

Sandys Survey of Religion, p. 223.

and all their Altars to *Jupiter Salutaris*, *Jupiter* the Saviour? and *Jupiter Melichius* or *Placabilis*, *Jupiter* the Appeasable, and *Jupiter* the Propitious? Of all which we have abundant Instances and Proofs in *Homer*, *Plato*, *Thucidides*, in *Xenophon*, *Pausanias* and so many others, that it would be Infinite to cite them all; Be pleased to accept of three, *Homer* in *Plato de Rep.*

Homer and Plat. l. 2. de Rep.

———Σπονδοὶ δέ γε καὶ θυσίαι αὐτοῖ,
Καὶ πῖσι μὲ θυσίαισι, καὶ εὐχωλῆσι ἀγαθῆσι,
Λοιβῆ τε κνίσσῃ τε θεῶν ἀνθρωποῖσι ἀνάπτοντι
Λιτομένοισι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑβρίσῃ καὶ ἁμάρτῃ.

The Gods are flexible, Prayers and Victims appease them, &c.

Plat. de Rep. l. 2.

Plato himself, αἱ τελεταὶ αὖ μέγα δυνάσθαι, καὶ λύσεις εἶναι θεοῖ, ἃς αἱ μέγισται πόλεις λέγουσι, καὶ οἱ θείων παῖδες ποιηταὶ, καὶ προφῆται ἡμῶν γεγόμενοι. *Expiations can* do much, *and the Gods are* Exorable, *as the Greatest* Cities, *the* Poets *Sons of the Gods, and the* Prophets Affirm.

Phor-

Phornutus. Porro etiam (saith he) *mitem appellant* Jovem, *nempe* Placabilem *esse his, qui è scelerata vita pedem retrahant, non enim ita erga eos est affectus, ut* reconciliari nequiret, *quam ob causam &* Placabilis Jovis aræ *sunt. There are* Altars *to* **Jove** *the* Appeasable. *Phurn. l. de Nat. Deor.*

And 'tis not unlikely but that many of them *had some confused Glympse and Apprehension of Christ*, the true **Propitiator**; forasmuch as thinking and *Inquisitive* Philosophers (for so I call them) who examined the Reasons of the Rites of their Religion, evidently enough perceived the *insufficiency* of not a few for those Ends they pretended, and in particular of *cruentous Sacrifices*, which (if they thought of it) they could not but discern to conduce little to the Real cleansing and Purgation of their *Consciences*, the *Expiation* of sin, and the *Propitiation* of God. The Ratiocination of the Prophet *Micah* is so Natural and Easie, that it could not possibly escape *Vid. Porphyr. de Abstinent. l. 2. s. 24.* *Mic. 6. 6, 7.*

a Cogitative man, *Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow my self before the High God? Shall I come before him with Burnt-*Offerings, *with* Calves *of an year old? Will the* Lord *be pleased with thousands of* Rams, *or with ten thousands of Rivers of* Oyl? *Shall I give my* first born *for my* transgression, *or the* fruit of my Body, *for the* sin of my soul? 'Tis not improbable but some Reflections of a Nature like to these, ingaged *Pythagoras* (as I find recorded by *Iamblicus*, in the Book he wrote of his life) to offer his Devotions on an *Incruentous* Altar. But whatever moved him to do so, it is certain that the Poet *Philemon* convinced of the Insufficiency of Sacrifices to Propitiate, and Attone God, Obliged men to Piety, and Righteousness, as Things in themselves of more Avail and Power with him for that End, than *Offerings*.

Iambl. in vit. Pythag. Vid. & Plutarch. in Num. & Porphyr. de vit. Pythag.

Εἰ τις τῶν δυνάμεων τοιαυτήκοιν, ὦ Πάμφιλε, Ταύταν τὴν φλοῦν, ἢ ἱερῶν, ἢ τὰ Δία, καὶ Πλανᾶτ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ φύσεις κόσμου ἔχει· Θεῷ τῶν δὲ ἀὰ τίλεσι πλεῖστον ἄν.

Now supposing any of them to have had such Reflections, what Inference can be more easie (if we suppose them also to *believe*, *what* the *Universal* obtaining of Cruentous Sacrifices over all the Earth compelled them to do, namely, that *they were ordained of God*;) I say, what *illation* or consequence can be more easie, than that God ordained not cruentous Sacrifices for *themselves*, as the *only means* of expiation of sin, or Propitiation of God; [it not consisting with Divine Wisdom to appoint so Unproportionable and Imperfect Ones:] but only in Relation to a *Thing* of more Perfection and Sufficiency, which *these* did but *Prefigure* and Type? Thus, Christ was not far from any of the Gentiles, would they have (but)

Groped after him. What the *Ceremonial Law* given to the Jews was ordained for to them; Those *Apish Observations* might have proved to the Gentiles: such Imperfect Sacrifices might easily have put them on the Quest of another more Perfect, Expiatory Sacrifice. As the *Law* among the Jews, so these *Observances* and Rites among the Gentiles, did but point to *Another*: *Sacrifices and Offerings thou wouldst* not, that is, **ultimately**, *and* **for themselves**; *In Burnt offerings and Sin-offerings thou hadst* no Pleasure, *viz.* **Terminatively** and in themselves. These were Insufficient for Purgation of Sin, and Propitiation of God; *Then said* I, *lo* I come, [I come] to do what they could not, *viz.* by making my *Soul* an Offering for *Sin*, to Purge and Take it away.

I am the more confirmed in this Opinion, when I consider with how great care the Antient *Mystæ* made it be conceived, *that* their *Religion* was

was *Umbragious* and *Figurative*, and *that* there was a deeper sense and meaning in the *Rites* and Ceremonies of it, than *these* at first might seem to carry. For to *Insinuate* this, as *Plutarch* tells us, they used to hang up *Sphynxes* in the Fronts of most of their Temples: *Quo innuunt* (saith the Author) *suam Rerum Sacrarum* Doctrinam *constare perplexa, & sub* involucris *latente sapientia:* And that Inscription on *Minerva*'s Temple at *Sais*, celebrated all the Learned World over, implyes no less. *Ego sum omne quod extitit, est, & erit, meumq;* Peplum *nemo adhuc mortalium detexit. I am all That that* hath been, that is, and that *shall be, and no mortal (Man) hath* yet *discovered my* Veil. A Symbol not obscurely indicating unto *Jesus Christ*, [or Him that was to come;] of whom it's said, *no man hath known the Father but the* Son, *and him to whom the Son hath* revealed him. He came out from the Father, and did

Plutar. de Is. & Osir.

Plutarc. ubi supra.

did *Peplum Dei detegere*, Open or discover his Veil.]

I know the *greatest part* of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, did *Bound* their Apprehensions with the things before their Eyes, and never understood the true Intendment or meaning of the Ceremonies and Rites of that Religion, of which they made Profession. And therefore it might well be, that in all their Humane, and other expiatory and cruentous Sacrifices, *they* had not one thought of that *Catharmus* that occasioned them; But if *they* had not, it was their own fault, and I make no Question but there were *Many* that had. Which I believe you will not think impossible to be conceived, when I have shewed what is *next in order*, that notwithstanding the *many* Lords Gods, *as well as* Gods, *the Gentiles had*; *yet many of them knew*, *there* was One *THE LORD-GOD* or Mediator, *as well as* One Supream GOD.

'Tis

'Tis true, It is a matter of the greatest Difficulty to Evince *This*, and *like* points, because the *Magi*, Philosophers, Priests, and other Thinking and Contemplative Persons, did in complyance with the weakness and infirmity of the Vulgar, and for their own security disguise their meanings, and but shew by *half* Lights in *Umbrages* and Riddles, what they knew of God, not agreeing with the common Notions about him. This is evident in *Plato*, who in an *Epistle* which he sent to *Dionysius*, excuses the Darkness and obscurity of his Discourse concerning God, with this Apology, θεῖον δὴ σοι δι' αἰνιγμῶν τὸν λόγον ἡ δίκτυς ἡ πίστις, ἢ γῆς ἐν ψυχαῖς πάθοι, ὁ ἀναγνὺς μὴ γνῷ. *I must speak to thee in Parables, That if the Letter miscarry, he that reads it, may be never the wiser.*] And then proposes his Symbol, *circa omnium* REGEM *sunt omnia*, &c. SECUNDUM *ad secunda*; TERTIUM *ad Tertia*, a TERNARY.

Plato Epist. secundo.

But

But to Return. *As* many of the Gentiles, notwithstanding the *Multitude* of Gods acknowledged among them, did believe there was but **One** *God*, as *Plato*, ἐν μὲν γὰρ σπουδαίοις ἐπιστολαῖς θεὸς ἀρχή, θεοὶ δὲ ἐν παίζοις. *when I write* seriously, *I begin my Epistle with* God; *But when* otherwise, *I mention* Gods: *So* likewise, notwithstanding the Multitude of **Demons**, or *Lords-Gods* and Mediators, many *did believe there was but* **one Great Demon**, One *Lord-God*, *the Mediator* between God and Man. This *Jamblicus* assures us. For when his Scholar *Porphyrie* had put him the Question, why there was but *One* [common] **Prayer** with which *Antiently* they Invocated several *Dæmons*, whereas it seemed more Agreeable, that Diverse *Dæmons* should have *Diverse* Prayers Addres them; He answers, *Quoniam per* **Deum-Dominum**, unum Dæmonum, *agitur Invocatio*, qui & *principio* suum *cuiq*; Dæmonem *definivit*, & *in Sacrificiis secundum propria*

Plat. Epist. 13.

Iambl. de Myst. ex Edit. Ficini.

propriam voluntatem suum cuique monstrat; semper enim, &c. That it was, *for that All Invocation is Performed through* THE **LORD-GOD**, *One of the* Dæmons, *who from the Beginning* Assigned *every One His Own Dæmon, and does in Sacrifices, according* to *His Own Pleasure*, shew *every Man His Own.*

Nor is *Jamblicus*'s Testimony the *only* One I have in this matter; for *Plato* in his *Convivium*, having spoken somewhat of the Nature, and of the Offices of **Love**, to the End he might Discourse more confidently of it, Introduces one *Diotima*, a Stranger, but a *Prophetess* [Γυνὴ μαντικὴ,] and makes her answer *Socrates*, inquiring *what* that Love should be, That it was not God himself, as he had apprehended it, but Μέγας Δαίμων, the *Great Dæmon*, Mediator between God and Man. *She* sayes the *Great Dæmon*, for she supposeth there are many *Dæmons*, but this the Great One, or **LORD-GOD**.

Plato in Conviv. f. 201, &c. Ex Ed. Steph. gr. lat.

DEFENCE. Οὕτω δὲ οἱ Δαίμονες πολλοί, καὶ παντοδαποί εἰσιν, εἷς δ' τούτων καὶ ὁ Ἔρως. *There are many and Diverse Damons, and* Love *is* one *of them.*

I know *you* do not startle at the Name, nor at the Thing *Damon*, though I believe some others will, who are less acquainted with the Antient Learning, and who know no other meaning of the word, than what common utage now enstamps upon it. But there will be little Reason for any man to Boggle at either, if he can have the Patience but to hear *Diotima* describing the **Demonial Nature**, That *it is a* middle one *between God and what* is *Mortal*, Μεταξὺ θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ τι καὶ θνητοῦ: *that 'tis its office to* interpret, *and to carry the* Prayers *and Sacrifices of men to God, and the* Precepts *and Commands of God, with all his Gracious* Retributions *and Returns to men.* Ἑρμηνεῦον, καὶ διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς δεήσεις, καὶ θυσίας, τῶν

ᾗ τοῦ δεσμέξεως τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς ἅπᾶ δρᾶσιν. That *it* filleth (*being of a* middle nature) *Both* [the Upper and the Lower Region,] or, is as a *haps or common Ligament, to bind the Universe in all its parts together*; ὡς μίαν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων συμπλοκὴν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ξυμπλέκει. That *it is the* Rise *and Spring of Divination or* Prophecy. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶσι χωρεῖ.——In fine, That *God and Man have no* immediate *communion or commerce together, but what intelligence and* Intercourse *soever is between them*, Proceeds *from this* Dæmonial Nature, θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου πᾶσα ἡ ὁμιλία, καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος θεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ——Thus *Diotima*.

And how well has her Discourse, it is so deep and so surprizing, Rewarded our Attention to it! For *all she* spake in *General* of the Dæmonial Nature, was intended (as the scope of that Discourse evinces) *Principally*, if not solely *for* the Μέγας Δαίμων, the *Great Dæmon*;

and

and if she mention'd others, it was by way of *caution*, only to secure her self, and Umbrage what she said that it might down the better, amid the many Prejudices of the Vulgar that opposed it. Nor durst *Plato*, who was well acquainted with the Fate of *Socrates*, and with the charge that made it, more apertly explicate the matter; It was the great Crime imputed to the *Master*, and for which he was condemned and Executed, that he Introduced *New Dæmons*; and it would have been a greater in the *Scholar*, and after such Example less Excusable, wholly to exclude the *Old*. Wherefore, it is not Injudicious to Understand the Prophetess, in the Argument preceding, principally to Regard the *great Dæmon*; and who is *He*, but Christ? For it is *He*, and (indeed) only He *that* is a *Mediator* between God and man, and that *participates* them both; It is *He Interpreteth* the mind of God, and that *presenteth* all our Prayers, and that *Reporteth* all his

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Answers and Returns; By *him* alone we hold *Communion*, and Intelligence with God; 'Tis *he* that *filleth* All things, which no other *Dæmon* can, and *in* all, the Æthereal Region in the *form* of God, the Inferiour in the *form* of man; and it is *he* that is the common *Ligament* that holdeth Heaven and Earth together, by whom all the Parts and Members of the Universe, Disbanded in the Fall, are Re-united under one Head. [Ἀνακεφαλαιώσις, to *Recapitulate*, is the Apostles word.] Eph. 1.10.

And well might *Jesus Christ*, the Great *Dæmon* of *Plato*, be styled by him (as he was) Ἔρως or **Love**, who as one composed all of *Love*, has given greater Demonstrations in Effect of *His*, than it is possible for Men to represent in words. Nor is it *contradicted* by the Story which the Author tells us of the *Origin* and Rise of Love, namely that it was the Offspring of *Porus* and *Penia*, of Plenty and Poverty; for what more easie Applications can

Plat. in Conviv. f. 203. Ex ed. Steph.

be made of it, than to our blessed Saviour, who is the Issue of the Grace and Goodness of Almighty God, and of the Indigency, Need and Poverty of Man? Had not Man been *Indigent* and Needy, and God Infinitely *Rich* in Grace and Mercy, Christ had never come.

As for the **Resurrection** *of the Dead* (*Another Article* of Christian Religion) *it* was Believed by the *Druids*; *it* was Preached by the *Sibylls*; it was implyed *in* the Doctrine of the *Immortality* of Humane Souls, *in* the *Sepulture* of Bodies, and *in* the *Rights* of *Sepulchres*, which for that they preserved the Dust and Ashes of Men against the time of Restitution, were esteemed all the World over *Sacred* and Inviolable. So *Phocylides*.

Neh. 2. 3.

Phocyl. in Pum. Admonitor.

Τοῦτο δημωφελὲς, ἀνεμχώτους τιθέναι,

It is Humane] *to afford Earth unto Unburied Carkases.* Again,

καὶ τύμβον φθιμένων ἀνορύξῃς, μηδ' ἀδήλα
δείξῃς ἡλίῳ, ἃ θεμιτὸν ὁρᾶν ἄῃστα.

Thou shalt not violate *the* Sepulcher *of the Dead; nor discover to the Sun, things not to be looked on.*

The next Verse is to the same Purpose.

Ὃ γὰρ ἀφανίζειν ἀναλύειν δὲ τρόπος.

It is Infamous to dissolve the Humane frame, or disturb his Ashes. And why? He annexes the Reason in the following Verses.

καὶ τάχα δ' ἐν χρόνῳ ἀναστήσεται εἰς φάος ἀνθῶν
πάλιν· ἀναγκαῖον ———

And we hope that ere long the grave shall render *up again to light the* Reliques *of the Dead.*

And, though in St. *Pauls* time, the Multitude at *Athens* were so absolutely *unacquainted* with the Re- Act. 17. 18.

surrection (of the Dead,) that when they had the Happiness to hear him Preach concerning it, some of them apprehended him to speak of a God, and all of a new and strange thing; *yet* we know that at the same time, there were *Philosophers Rome* that were most clear and full in their Belief and Faith of it, who not unlikely with their other knowledges, Received even this at *Athens*; from some *above* the many. Once, Philosophy came from *Greece* to *Rome*; and at *Rome* we have some Notice of this Article. *Seneca* shall speak thereof, *Mors* (saith he) intermittit *vitam*, *non* eripit. Veniet *iterum quo nos in Lucem* reponat, Dies. *Death is but* [a sleep] *an* Interruption, *not an* Abolition *of Life*; *there will a* Day come, *when we may* Possess the Light. Thus *He* of the Resurrection of the Body: which yet both *Portius Festus* and *Pliny* derided. *Democritus* indeed seems to have spoken of it, and that occasioned in part the Extrava-

Sen. Ep. 36.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 55.

gan

gant Sally and Talk of *Pliny*.

And having treated of the Resurrection of the Body, I will now tell you why I premised to it nothing of the *State and Immortality* of the *soul*; It was because I did esteem it as a Point supposed in all Religions, and taken for granted. However in regard you may expect I should say something; not to mention that *Pherecides Syrus* Master of *Pythagoras*, is said by some, (by others *Thales*) to be the first that asserted it, which I will then credit when I am convinced that before them, there was neither Worship nor Theologie; I affirm it a *Doctrine* so Universally *believed*, and known to be *so*, that it were superfluous to be much in Citations. You shall therefore have the trouble but of reading *one* Testimony; which for Pregnancy and Fulness of its Sense, and its Conformity with that of Holy Writ, will supersede all others. It is *Moschion's*, or as some, *Meanders*.

Cicero Tusc. quæst. L. 1.

Laert. in Thal.

Phil. Disp. de Gener. Animal. L. 2. c. 3. Plut. contra Colot. Cic. l. de Senec.

Mosch and Stob. Ser. 120.

Ἐάσατ' δὲ γῆ κατακρυβῆναι τοῦτο,
Ὅθεν δ' ἔκαστον εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο
Ἐπανῆλθ' ἀπαλλαγὲν· πνεῦμα μὲν, οἷπερ οὐδέν,
Τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν ———

Permit the Dead to be covered with Earth,
And every thing whence *it came into the Body,*
Thither *to Return*: *the* Spirit *to* Heaven,
And the Body *to* Earth.

Eccl. 12.7. So *Solomon*. *Then shall the* dust *Return to the* Earth, *as it was*; *and the* Spirit *shall Return unto* God *that gave it*. And *Socrates* was sure of it that he should go to the θεῶν δεσπόταις, to the Gods Lords.

Socrat. apud Platon. in Phad.

As *for* **Judgement**; 'Tis manifest by a Passage which I cited out of *Jamblicus* upon the first Argument, that the great *Pythagoras* both believed and taught it. And what Apprehensions the more *Antient* Times had, and how conforma-

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ble to those that Christians have from *Christ* in *Matthew*, is deduceable from the Old Story of **Erus**, Son of *Armenius*, which we have in *Plato*, and which I mention'd in the Preface to my former Treatise. The Story is this, *Erus* Son of *Armenius*, was in a great Combat slain with many others, and after ten dayes, when the Bodies of the rest, all putrified and rotten, were removed, *his* was found as sweet and as sound as ever, which his friends carrying home in order to perform to it all the requisite Funeral Ceremonies, on the twelfth day from his decease, as they were laying him upon the Funeral Pile, Behold *Erus* reviv'd, and being reviv'd, related all that he had seen and heard from the time that he first departed. His *Relation* follows.

Matth. 25. 31, &c.

Plat. de Rep. l. 10. p. 614, &c.

Ἔφη γὰρ ἔφασκε τὴν ψυχὴν ——

He said, That *after the Separation of his Soul from the Body, he went with many in his company, and* [at last] *arrived at a certain* Divine Place, *whence he saw* two Openings

or *Hiatus in the Earth*, *one near another*, and *as* many *also above in* Heaven right opposite to them. That *betwixt these Openings there sate* Judges. That *these Judges, after they had taken Judicial Cognizance of all Persons and Matters, and accordingly had passed Sentence*, commanded *the* JUST πρὸς τὰς εἰς ΔΕΞΙΑΝ τε, καὶ ἄνω, *to go to the* RIGHT HAND *up into* Heaven. *Which they did, carrying on their* Breasts σημεῖα τῶν πεπραγμένων, *the* Records *of all the* Good *things acknowledged in that Judgement to have been done by them. But the* Wicked and UNJUST τοὺς εἰς ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΝ τε καὶ κάτω, *were ordered to the* LEFT HAND, *and to descend to the Infernals*; they *also* bearing, *but upon their* backs, σημεῖα πάντων ἐν ὑπομνήσει, *Intimations* [as *it were Records in writing*] *of all that they had* done. That *Erus himself for his part, when he came before the Judges, was told by them, that* he *must* return *again to Mortals*,

tals, to Report to them all that he had seen and heard, and therefore that he should exactly observe, &c.

And how agreeable (I say) is this *Relation* of *Erus*, for so much of it as concerns Judgement, to *that* we have from *Jesus Christ*, who tells us, *that* in the last day there shall a *Separation* be made, as of *Sheep* from Goats? The Sheep shall stand at the RIGHT, the Goats at the LEFT HAND; and *that* then the *Good omitted* by the Wicked, as *that performed* by the Just, shall come to Light, and stand Eternally *Recorded* with the Sentence passed on them, to shew Divine Justice.

You have another *Old Story* to Demonstrate the Antient Faith of *Gentiles* in the point of *Judgement*, in *Plato*, who maketh *Socrates* to tell it to one *Callicles*. Therein he speaks of *Two wayes*, one to *Heaven*, another to *Hell*: Of three *Judges*, *Rhadamanthus* Judge of the *Asians*, *Æacus* Judge of the *Europeans*, and

Plato in Gorg. f. 526. ex Ed. Steph.

and *Minos* presiding over both, with a many other not impertinent matters. But as he tells the Tale, it is so prolix, and after what I have already said from *Erus*, so unnecessary here, that I will not give my self the trouble to Transcribe, or you to Read it; only, there is a passage in it that imports how Just, and how impartial a Judgement that shall be; which for that it is Important and concerning, I think not fit to omit. For *Socrates* having in Discourse on some part of his Relation said (what the Holy Penmen in many places also do) οἱ πολλοί, ἔφη, κακοί εἰσι δυναστῶν, That *many of the Dynastes or Rulers of the world are wicked*; thence he takes occasion to resume his Story, and to tell how *Uprightly*, how Equally, how Impartially Judge *Rhadamanthus* does Acquit himself towards them and others; ἐπειδὰν ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἐκεῖνος πρῶτον τοὺς λόγους, *When the foresaid* Rhadamanthus *taketh such* an one *in hand* to *examine*

amine him, ἀλλὰ μὴ φροντίζει ἐν οἵῳ τινὶ τυγχάνει, οὐδ' ὅστις ὢν, ἐν τῇ πονηρίᾳ τοῦτον, *He taketh cognizance of nothing in him, neither of what Rank or Quality he is,* or *from whom de scended; but only that he is* Wicked; καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀπόπεμψας εἰς Τάρταρον, *and finding him so, dismisseth him to* Hell. ἐπιστιγματίσας ἴσως τι ἰάσιμον, ἴσως τι ἀνίατον δηλοῦν θέλων. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὸ ἀγωνίσασθαι πάσχει. *Putting on him a* Mark *to signifie that he is Curable, or else Incurable.*] It seems they held Purgatory.] ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλου σκοπῇ ἰδίαν βασιλικοῦ, καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας, ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, ἢ ἄλλου τινός. *But if he see another soul, that of a man that hath lived* Holily *and according to* Truth, *and* Justly, *whether it be that of a plain and* Unlearned *man, or else of* another, (μάλιστα μὲν τοίνυν φημὶ ὦ Καλλίκλεις, φιλοσόφου, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πεφροντικότος, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πεφυρμένου ἐν τῷ βίῳ) *But Principally I say,* O Callicles, *if it be a* Philosophers [I had almost rendred it, if a Christians] *One that minds* his own *matters, and*

is

is no busie-body *in other mens*) ἐγκάδε τε καὶ εἰς μακάρων νῆσον ἀποπέμψῃ, That *he huggs*, *and sends to the* Islands of the Blessed. *Æacus* does the like. *Minos* sits by superintending, according to *Ulysses* in *Homer*.

Χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχων θεμιστεύων νεκύεσσι.

Holding a Golden Scepter, *and ordaining* Right *to the Dead.*

This for the *Judgement to come*; But if any urges that the Testimonies I have cited do concern the *Particular* one, which every soul assoon as it abandons and forsakes the Body undergoes, rather than the *General* wherein all men all together, souls and bodies re-united shall appear at the Bar: I say (1.) Particular Judgement and General differ not *essentially*; but accidentally. (2.) And who knows but that they meant both? But (3.) If they apprehended not the Article in all its *Circumstances* so distinctly as we now do, it will not much matter, if for all they

they did believe the *substance*, That *All must answer one day for what they do in the Body, and be Rewarded accordingly:* Since this sufficeth for both the Ends of that Discovery, namely *to* Influence the Humane Life, and *to* Justifie Divine Procedure.

As *for the two States* of **Heaven and Hell**, there are so many and so obvious Testimonies both of *Poets* and *Philosophers*, of which occasionally I have mentioned some already, that to offer any in so plain a matter, and here especially, may seem *superfluous*; yet, that I be not altogether wanting unto this *Article* in its Order, since I have not yet been so to others in theirs, I will present you *One* Evidence concerning *it*, and because it will indeed be absolutely unnecessary after that to offer more, I will Present but One. ἐν ὧν νόμῳ (says *Socrates*) ἐν οἷς ἀνθρώποις ἐν Κόσμῳ, ἢ δοῦλος, ἢ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. *This was the* Law *and Sanction of God concerning Men in the* Reign

Socrat. apud Plato. in Gorg. 523. ex Ed. Gr. lat. steph.

Reign *of* Saturn, *and the same was* alwayes, *and even now* is (in force.) And what is that Law? ὅστις ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως, &c. That, *whosoever among men did live* δικαίως καὶ ὁσίως *Righteously and Holily*, should ὁπόθεν τελευτήσῃ *whensoever he dyed, go* εἰς μακάρων νήσους *unto the* Islands of the Blessed, οἰκεῖν δὲ πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν, *there to dwell in all* felicity, *without the* Mixture *of Evils*. This was the Law for the *Good*. So *Christ*, Blessed *are they that dye in the Lord*, thenceforth *they rest from their labours and their works follow them. There shall be* no night *there*; *There shall be* no *Curse there*. But what is the *Law* for the *wicked*? Τὸν δὲ ἀθέων καὶ ἀδίκων, *But he that lived* without *God*, *or Impiously in the world*, and *Unrighteously*, *was to go* εἰς τὸ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ δίκας διδόντων, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, *into the Place of Punishment and Justice*, *which they call* Tartarus. And *Dives in* Hell, *&c.*

I con-

I confess, the **Life Everlasting**, by which I understand that *Glorious and Immutable Condition or Estate to be possessed by the Godly in the Resurrection or the Re-union of the Body with the Soul*, is an *Article* wherein (if in any) the *Gentiles* generally were but *Dark*: And yet (what is not easily believed) it is true that *some* of them had Light and Information of *it*; for that very *Poet* whom I lately cited for the Resurrection from the Dead, immediately to what I have already quoted out of him on that head, adds this.

——ὕστερον δ' θεοὶ τελέουσι. *Philem. in Poem. Admonitor.*

Afterwards [*viz.* after the Resurrection] *they shall be* Gods. And not the *Poet* only, but the Old *Magi* believed **Another**, and that an *Immortal Life*. So *Laertius*, ὃς καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαί φασι τοὺς Μάγους τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἀθανάτους εἶναι, &c. ——*Who* (saith he, speaking it of *Theopompus*) *Theopomp. ap. Laert. in Prom. Plutarch. de Is. & Osir.*

pus) *affirmeth, that according to the Doctrine of the* Magi, *men shall* live again, *and then be* Immortal; A *Belief* that is not much short of that the *Christians* had of old, I know saith *Job*, that *my Redeemer liveth*, that *in the latter Day* He *shall stand upon the Earth*; *and* that I *shall see him with these Eyes. When I awake* (saith *David*) *I shall be satisfied with thy* Likeness. And what is that **Likeness**? I know how *some* understand it, *viz.* That it does consist in *Holiness*, or *in the correspondency of our Natures to the Divine*; But I rather understand it as *Analogie* and common sense of Scripture prompts me, to consist in **Glory**, I mean, *in the conformation of the* Vile *Bodies of Believers to the* Glorious *Body of Jesus Christ*. For as they have born the *Image* of the *Earthly*, they shall also bear the *Image* of the *Heavenly*. *Beloved, we are* now *the* Sons of God, *and it doth not* yet *appear* what *we shall be, but we know that when* He *shall Appear, we shall be*

[r] *Vid. supra* 276.

be Lik[illegible] ...o is *He that shall a*[illegible] ...as Christ? and the Co[illegible] proverbs it, 1 *Joh.* 2. 28.

But to conclude this tedious Entertainment of the Gentile Divinity, I will only add, that many Heathen held Opinion, that the World should have **End** by **Fire**. Of which persuasion [Generally] were all the Stoicks; *Seneca* is press and full, *At illo tempore, solutis Legibus, sine modo fertur. Qua ratione inquiris? eadem qua* **Conflagratio** *futura est. Utrumque fit cum* Deo visum *vertiri* meliora, *Vetera* finiri. *At that time absolved from all Laws, it doth observe no measure. How can that be dost thou say? Why, in the same manner wherein the* **Conflagration** shall; *both the one and the other is when it pleaseth God either to give beginning unto new* Things, *or else to put an end* to old, &c. *Ovid* sayes as much.

Sen. Nat. Quæst. l. 3.

Ovid. Metamor.
Dr. Dove against Atheism, ch. 14.
August. Steuch. Eugub. de perenni philosoph. l. 10. c. 29.

Esse quoq; in Fatis [illegible]*tur, affore tempus*
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa laboret.

That time *shall come when both the Earth and Sea,*
With Heavens Arch so Glorious to behold
Shall burn, *and shall turn unto Decay.*

So also Lucretius.

Una dies dabit exitio, multosq; per annos
Sustentata ruet moles, *&* machina mundi,
Accidet exitium cœli terræque futurum.

The world which stood so many years
Shall in one day *destroyed be,*

De-

Destruction likewise shall appear
For Heaven and Earth most suddenly.

To this also agreeth the Poet *Lucan*, his words be these, *Lucan Bel. Civ. l. 1.*

Invida fatorum series, summisq; negatum
Stare *diu*, nimioque graves, sub pondere lapsus,
Nec se Roma ferens. Sic cum compage soluta
Secula tot mundi *suprema* coegerit *hora*,
Antiquum repetens iterum *Chaos*, omnia mistis
Sidera Sideribus concurrent, ignea pontum
Astra petent, tellus extendere littora nollet,
Excutietq; fretum. Fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata diem poscet sibi, totaque discors
Machina, divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi.

The Fates *envy the States of mortal men,*
The Highest Seats do not continue long:
Great is the fall under the greater burden,
(And Greatest things do to themselves greatest wrong)
Rome *was so great (whom all the world did fear)*
That Rome *her self she could no longer bear.*
So when this well conch't frame of World shall burn,
And the last hour so many ages end:
To former Chaos *all things shall Return,*
(The Envious Fates this Issue do portend)
Then all the Planets shall confus'dly meet,
And fires celestial on the floods shall fleet.
The Earth shall grudge *to make the Sea a shore,*

And

And cast it off, and push the shoe away:
The Moon enrag'd shall cross her Brother sore,
And seek to alter course, to shine by day:
Thus all at odds, in strife and out of frame,
They shall disturb the world, and spoil the same.

So great a Light was that afforded to the Gentiles, in all Essential points of true Religion: which perhaps, if we possessed all the Volumes perisht by the Injury of Times, and the Destiny of Letters, would have appeared much greater; yet so great it seems now by what Discourses I have made already, (the which I might enlarge on every Article,) That none that does unprejudicedly weigh them, can have cause to *wonder* either at *Clement*'s, or at *Lactantius*'s sense in favour of the old Philosophers, or that St. *Austin* should say, "That the Jews dare "not

Aug. de civ. l. 18. c. 47.

"not averr that *no man* was *saved* "after the Propagation of *Israel*, *but* "*Israelites*. Indeed there was no "other People properly called the "*People of God*. But they *can't* de- "ny that some *Particular* Men lived "in the world, in other Nations, that "were *belonging* to the Heavenly *Hierarchie*. And *Vives* in his Notes is of the same Perswasion.

But do you *ask* by what **means** Gentiles who were Aliens from the Common-wealth of *Israel*, and without the Line of that Communion; *became* acquainted with those great Truths of which the *Jews* only had the solemn keeping? I answer, that (as I have often intimated) *It was either* (1.) *By a Catholick or General Tradition from the first and most Antient Fathers*; *Or* (2.) *By some Extraordinary Revelation or Discovery made to them*; *Or* (3.) *By Communication from the* Hebrews, *the* Israelites, *and* Jews, *who as a Church*, *were a* **Candlestick** *to hold the Light committed to them*,

them, out *to all the* Earth.

That *most of those Doctrines I have noted, were communicated down from hand to hand by* Immemorial Tradition, from the first and most *Antient* Fathers, is not difficult to be conceived by those that know, that *as* all men came from *Adam* in the *first* World, *so* that in the *second* all did Descend from *Noah*, who had the knowledge of the true Religion, and instructed all his children in it, which children cannot be imagined but also to instruct and teach theirs, and so onward. But this is not *all*; for the *πατρογνωμονικοι* or *mos majorum* was a thing insisted on by all the Heathen, who ever pleaded for the Rites of their Religions, that they had *received* them from their *forefathers*, and that they were of Antient *Usage*; yes, and that *Plato* (whom *Aristobulus* the *Jew* affirmeth to have been a follower of the Law of his Nation, and to be very studious of the Doctrines in the Sacred Oracles, and whom *Nume-*

Nunc. ap. Illustr. de Philos. *nius* for the same Reason styles the *Attick Moses*,) he sayes expresly, That he *Gleaned all he had, and wrote in that kind, out of* Immemorial and Unwritten, *but almost expired* and worn out Traditions. For in his *Politie* in the Place which I have cited in my Advertisement to the Reader, he plainly tells us, *That* the points he speaks of, *were transmitted from our first Predecessors*, ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρχαίων τῶν πρότερον, &c. *That* those that *lived in the former Ages preached*, (it is his own Expression) τούτων δὲ ὅσοι κάρυκες ἐγένοντο λόγων, *They were* Preachers *of the very things that now are causelesly rejected of many.* οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐκ ἀξιοῦσι δικαίως. The like in his *Philebus*, which I also noted before, wherein he sayes, that *the* Antients, *better men than we, and dwelling nearer to the Gods*, delivered *to us the* Report or Fame *of these things* [τούτων φάμας παρέδοσαν] Yes, and in his *Republique*, he maketh *Adimantus*

Plat. in Politic. f. 271.

Plat. ibid.

Plat. in Phileb. f. 16.

tus in Addresſs to *Socrates*, to ſpeak the ſame, ἀπὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡρώων ἀφῃρημένοι, *deducing your Diſcourſes from the* [Antient] *Heroes who were from the Beginning*, ὧν λόγοι λελειμμένοι μεχρὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *The Remains of whoſe Diſcourſes are arrived even down to us.* 'Tis very probable that theſe whom *Plato* calls the *firſt* Anceſtors, the *Antients*, *better* men than we, *nearer* to the Gods, *Heroes* that were from the Beginning, I mean the *firſt Patriarchs* (for ſo I underſtand him) *Noah* for inſtance and his *children*, are the ſame deſigned by the fam'd *Apollo*, when in anſwer to a grave and ſerious Inquiry made by *Zeno Citticus*, *how he might inſtitute* and frame and order his Life *Beſt?* He ſayes, εἰ συνκατασκευάζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς, that he would inſtitute and frame and order it beſt, *if he made it to conform to the* Dead. *Apollo*'s Dead, and *Plato*'s Heroes are the ſame.

Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 386.

Apollo apud Laert. in Zenon.

Thus *by Oral Tradition*, or Report, by which I mean a *delivery down*

down of Doctrines from hand to hand by Words, or else by visible and significant Actions, many things were transferred from preceding to succeeding ages. But Report or Oral Tradition and Delivery, is in it self a *means* of conveyance so *Uncertain* and fallible, that when it passes many hands, there can but little be *confided* to it in controverted matters; (for) then it proveth (most commonly) so diversified and various, that it is the *cause* of Controversies, not the *cure*; the persons that convey it are so lyable either to *mistake* and Imposture, or to *design* & Interest. Nothing is more Obvious, or more frequently experienced than this: For the *Report* of an Accident but at *One* End of the Town; albeit it may *Retain* (as for the most part it *doth*) some *general likeness* and similitude of the First and Original Truth: yet 'tis *disguised* with a thousand Errors; though perhaps in some places with more, in some with less, according to the different

Capa-

Capacities, Numbers, Tempers, Affections and Designs of those that have the conveying of it. Report the further it goes, the more it loses of Truth, and the more it gains of Error.

In this Instance we have a lively *pourtraict* of the *False Religion* of the Gentiles, and the plain *Reason* why it seemeth in so many things an Apish *Imitation* of the *True*; why it is so *diversified* in it self, and yet withall *Retaineth* such Resemblance and Conformity with Ours. It is because *that* all men came from one, and *that* not only *Adam*, but *Noah* did instruct his children in the Mysteries of the True Religion, and in the Rites of it, and these again *Reported* to theirs, and so onward. But we may easily believe it to have hapned in this Tradition, *as* it doth in all others, that there was almost in every *New* delivery and Transmission, (for the mentioned causes) some *departure* and Recess from the *Former*; and *thence* arose so great

great **Diversity** in several parts of the World; yet (*what also is in all* Reports) notwithstanding so much Variation in *Particulars* as there was among them; all *Retained* some **Agreement** in the *General*, and *that* Greater or Lesser, as those that made them were either *nearer* to the *first Reporters*, or more Remote; or else were more or less *Intelligent*, *Faithful*, careful and sincere in Transferring them. *Cunning* and Designing men foisted in something of their own, and made the *Catholick* Traditions, to father their *conceits*; But *others* were more *Honest*: Hence the *Variety*, and hence the *Agreement* in the Religions of the World.

Now, those *General Articles*, Heads, or Points of Religion, wherein all men all the World over commonly agree, and which are therefore called **common sentiments**, *though* they be *not* (what by some they be imagined) *Innate Idea's*, or Notions ingrafted and imprinted on

on the Minds of Men by Nature, but (as I have evinced them) *main* and *substantial Points of the first Tradition*, and consequently, *Retained* in all the following, with more or less Disguise; *yet* be they as *Infallibly and Indubitably true, as if they were*; since 'tis as impossible that they should obtain so *Universally* (all the World over) if indeed they were not the Traditions of a *first and common Parent*, as that they should be false, if they *were*. For grant one *first Parent* common to all the World, who could not but know the Truth, and that he so delivered things to his Children, and *doubt* O Atheist, the *Reality* of them, if thou canst!

Finally, *How disguised* soever Truth was in those Successive Traditions, as necessarily it *must* have been in passing through so many and so diversly affected hands; *yet* as in other Reports, so also in these, when one becomes acquainted with the Original Truth, he will be able by

com-

comparing and conferring, to Discover the *Causes*, or rather the first Occasions and *Rises* of *Mistakes* and Errors, [what grounds there were for such;] since it is as certain, that all *Mistake*, Error, Falsity hath for its bottom and foundation one or another *Truth*, as that *Evil* has some *Good* to ground it. *This* consideration will administer abundant Light to those that mind it, for their understanding of the cogency of some of those Discourses I have made before, about the *Christianity disguised in many of the Gentile Rites*; and it was for that Purpose, and with that Design, namely, that it might reflect upon them somewhat of strength and confirmation, that I made any mention of it here; for doing which, after I have offered this Apology, I hope I need no Pardon. Thus *Tradition was one way*.

But though Tradition was *One*; yet the *only* way it was not whereby the Gentiles became acquainted with the

the Mysteries of the True Religion, for besides *that*, we are to conceive they had some **Extraordinary Revelations** *and Discoveries of them, by Inspiration or Oracle:* There not being any Nation under Heaven, and in the whole Universe, wherein (if you will credit *Cicero*) *Divination* was not. And indeed the *Antient Superstition* was *Magick*. Of which truth we are assured not only by the Definition *Plato* gives of Magick, ἡ Μαγεία Θεῶν θεραπεία, that *it is the worship of the Gods*; but also by the more Authentick History of *Balaam*, who when he would Divine, did nothing but perform Rites of Religion; he caused *Altars* to be built, and *offered* Bullocks and Rams. Yes, and *Strabo* tells us, that all the Heathen, as well *Barbarians* as *Greeks*, had certain *Festive Sacrifices*, wherein they were *inspired* by the Deity, [ἐνθουσιασμῶν.] *Pausanias* also having mentioned the *Persians eminent for Divination*, adds, *Et hæc quidem de fœminis*

Cic. de Divin. l. 1.
Vid. Jambl. de Myster.
Strab. Geog. L. 10. & 16.
Pausan. in Phocic.

fœminis & viris, quibus ad hunc usq; *diem* Divinandi Scientia Divinitus contigit, *memoriæ prodita sunt. In sequentibus deinc seculis credi facile potest* alios *ejusmodi homines*, qui futura prædicant, *non defuturos.*

As for the **Rise and Origin of heathen Inspiration or Oracle**, I do not hold my self obliged to discourse thereof here, farther than as generally hinted, it may serve to regulate our Apprehensions in the present matter; and therefore omitting what *Peripatetiques* and *Stoicks* say, who make *it* the Effect of certain Preparations or Dispositions of mind, or what *Plutarch*, who ascribes it unto Qualities and Temperatures of places; I impute it to **Religion**, and to the state and condition of the first times, wherein Inspirations, while there was no other certain way of knowing the Divine mind, and of being guided by it, were far more frequent and common, than in the more remote. And *no question* but among the many other *Traditi-*

ons,

ons given by *Noah* [Father of the Second World] to his Children, this was *One*, In *Extraordinary Cases to consult* God *for Resolution and Direction by* (a way of) *extraordinary worship and Religion*; for instance, by Extraordinary Prayers, and Extraordinary Sacrifices, it being the acknowledged *Nature* of Religion and Worship, by qualifying and accommodating of the mind to God, to *Invite* and draw him down, and make him present to the Religious, and Worshippers. Thus *all men* all the world over mov'd by *that* Tradition, as by *Instinct* of Nature, did in all unusual and uncommon Emergencies, or when they would be counselled and resolved in any matter, immediately *apply* themselves to the Deity; which the *superstitious* Doing *in wayes* and methods not appointed by the *true* God, expected him in vain, *he* (for the most part) disdaining to approach unto them on such allurements; *whence* it came to pass, they

were *abused* by the *False*, (I mean the Devil) who readily espying and improving this Occasion, *slily intruded* himself; so that appearing *in the place* of God, he passed for *him*. It was thus the *Devil* became the *God* of *this world*, or of the *Gentiles*. The superstitious invocated God in false wayes, who therefore refusing to approach, and visit them, the Devil takes the opportunity; he comes in his stead, and so passes for him.

I am the more *confirmed* in this Opinion, by considering that among the Superstitious, there were the *same* **wayes** of *Responses* by *Visions*, by *Dreams*, by *Voice*, &c. as among the truly Religious; as also by the **Cessation and defect of Oracles** or Inspiration, which on this Notion, and in this way, is more accountable than in any other. For when the Superstitious ceasing to be so, became (as in process of time they did) *diffident* and faithless of the Power and Aptness of the means,

means, for effecting of the Ends pretended, and consequently either *innovated* New Rites, more agreeable to their own conceits, or else grew *cold* and formal in the use of the Old, it followed, that they lost the advantage of such communication and direction from their Gods, as formerly they had, with their Faith and Zeal in those Performances, that is, with that *Religion* which possessed them of it. False Religion made Oracles, and Irreligion ruin'd them. *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*

And who can doubt of this *Account*, or Reason, that seriously considers, *First*, That *we read not of the* Cessation *or Defect of any Oracle, but about the time that* Scepticism and Epicurism obtained. That great Oracle at *Delphos*, so celebrate in all the Earth, then ceasing to answer, as it had before in *Verse*, when the Seeker *Pyrrho* was followed. And *Secondly*, That *Jamblicus* is of the same Opinion, who informs us, that it

Vid Miscellan. Tusc. in Offar.

was the *innovating* and unsteady humour of the *Greeks* that rendred inspiration so unfrequent and rare, among whom (he sayes) it was (for that Reason) of a duration and continuance, much shorter than among the Grave *Barbarians*. *Oportet igitur* (sayes he in his *Mysteries*) Ritus *adorationis* antiquos *tanquam sacros conservare semper* intactos; *neque demere quicquam, neque aliunde quid addere; ferme namque &* hac causa *nuper extitit, ut omnia* & nomina & bota debilitata *jam sint; propterea quod propter* ipsam *prevaricationem & invocandi cupiditatem* permutata *sunt semper, & permutari non desinunt.* Græci *namq; natura rerum* novarum studiosi *sunt, ac præcipites usquequaq; feruntur, instar navis saburra carentis, nullam habentis stabilitatem, neq; conservant quod ab aliis acceperunt. Sed & hoc cito dimittunt, & omnia propter instabilitatem, novaque inventionis elocutionem transformare solent.* Barbari *vero sicut mori-*

Jambl. de Myst.

moribus graves, *firmique sunt, sic & in iisdem sermonibus firmiter perseverant*, ob quam *sane* stabilitatem, *& ipsi* Diis *sunt* amici, *&* orationes *offerunt illis* acceptas, *quas nulli ulla* unquam ratione fas est permutare.

But to circumscribe my self: That the *True God did on occasion infuse into the* Heathen *some Divine Motions* is (in my Apprehension) scarce questionable by any that Reflects on *Balaam*. Again, and as little questionable is it, that *the Devil*, after *he had usurped the Place* of *God*, and (as it were) *assumed his Person, did frequently both say and do many things that were like him*, to the end he might more craftily secure the cheat, and pass for what he was not. Though indeed at other times, he acted things like *himself*, which when he was received for God, he might the safer do; and all this as one that *Personates* another is wont, who *must* do something like the person he pretends to be, that he may pass for

him; and *will* do more like himself. Hence the Heathen *Oracles* and *Sibylls* had a *mixture* in both of Good and Bad. The former, that they might *seem* to come from God; the latter, *because* they came from the Devil.

Now whether the *Sibylls* (for of these I principally design to speak, as having pressed their Authority before) were inspired in what they spake of Jesus Christ by the *Deity*; or (as you see I apprehend) prompted by the *Devil*, is a matter not so necessary here to be decided. *Both* wayes are *Possible*. God inspired *Balaam* many hundred years before the Prophets arose, so that he spake as plainly and fully of our Saviour, as any of them all; and for the *Devil*, *he* gave as large and full a Testimony unto Jesus Christ, *when come*, as any in that time beside him. And that he might *Predict* or prophesie of him in the *Sibylls*, and other Oracles, for the *same* respects and Ends *before* he came, *for* which he did confess

confess him *when come*, is not difficult to be conceived by a Thinking and Attentive man. What if the Devil by the *clearness* of his Oracles in this particular, thought either to *out-vye* or to *forestall* the Prophets in theirs? It would not seem a Design (if that were his) Unworthy either of the *Envy*, or the *subtlety*, for which he is so infamous. And what if he intended to *verifie* his Divinity to after Ages, by the Truth of his Prognosticks in the former? Besides, he might conceive it would intangle and perplex succeeding times, as indeed it mightily hath; which to design was proper for him.

Once, 'tis out of doubt that there were *Sibylls*, and those Antient, though *how Antient* it be not easie to determine. Certain it is, their Writings (of old) were held at *Rome* in extraordinary *Veneration*, there being *Officers* appointed, during both the Government of *Kings*, and that of the *People*, to preserve, and

Vid. Lactant. Instit. l. 1. c. 6. —de Ira Dei, c. 22. Vid. in Not. ad August. de Civit. l. 18. c. 23. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. l. 4.

on occasion to inspect and consult them. That after the Conflagration of the *Capitol*, and of the Books with it which hapned in the one hundred fifty fourth Olympiad, there were Ambassadours sent on purpose to *Erithræ*, to repair that loss, which was done in part from thence, and in part from other Cities. In fine, *Augustus* by his Edict commanded that all the Verses going under the name of *Sibylls*, in the possession of any in his Territories, should be brought to the Præfect of the City of *Rome*, to be by him submitted to the Censure of the *Quindecem viri*, who were to judge which were true, and which false, severely forbidding private persons to retain or keep them. Thus they were preserved till the time of *Stillico*, who destroyed them. Of so much credit they were.

Indeed, That among the Writings commonly reputed Sibylline, there were antiently a many *false*, supposititious, and ingenuine, cannot be denyed

denyed by one who reads in *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* an express Assertion of it; or that considers, that it was (as *Tacitus* affirms) the Motive of the Edict (so lately mentioned) of the great *Augustus*. And for the times *since* Christ, what the learned *Vossius* hath suggested may in part be true; that many of the Writings now obtruded on us for the *Sibylls*, may be **Pious frauds**, contrived to beguile the Heathen, by men of honester designs and meanings than Practices.

Dionys. Halicarn. ubi supra. Tacitus Annal. l. 6. f. 380. Ed. Lips.

Voss. de Poet. Gra. c. 1.

Of *this* sort, forasmuch as the *Devil* who resided at the celebrated *Delphos*, was long *before* forsaken of his *versifying Humour* at least, (as is very Evident from *Cicero*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch* and many others) is that famous Oracle pretended to be given by him to *Augustus Cæsar*, viz.

Cic. de Divinat. l. 2. Strabo Geogr. l. 17. Plutarch. de Orat. defecta.

"Ecqui

Ἑβραῖος κελεύει με δεῦρο μεταβαίνειν ἀνάκτορα
Τὸν ἡμῶν ἀγελαστῶν, ἐν ἴδοις πάλιν αὖθις
Ἑκάστῃ,
Λοιπὸν ἱκετηρίαν ἐν βωμῶν ἀφίστημι.

Me puer Hebræus jubet hinc Rex ille Deorum
Tartareas remeare Domos hac ade relicta,
Post ergo ora tenens altaria nostra relinquo.

And of the same bran I reckon that **Tale** of *Theodosius* the *Jew*, which Mr. *Howell* sayes he found in *Suidas*, and concerning which he prayeth the Judgement of the Learned Doctor *Usher*, in a Letter sent (to him) for that purpose. The Story is this; "That when the "Temple was founded in *Jerusalem*, "there were twenty two Priests ac-"cording to the number of the He-"brew Letters to Officiate in the "Temple, and when any was chosen, "his name with his Fathers and "Mo-

Howells Letters, Sect. 6. Let. 37. Vid. Moray of Verity of Christian Religion, c. 30.

"Mothers were used to be Register'd "in a fair Book. In the time of "*Christ* a Priest dyed, and *he* was "chosen in his Place; but when his "name was to be entred, his Father "*Joseph* being dead, his Mother "was sent for, who being asked, "who was his Father, she answe-"red, that she never knew man, but "that she conceiv'd by an Angel. "So his Name was Register'd in "these words, JESUS CHRIST "THE SON OF GOD, AND "OF THE VIRGIN MARY. "This Record at the Destruction of "the Temple was preserved, and "is to be seen in *Tiberias* to this day. Thus *He*.

These, and other *instances* of *Pious Fraud* in former times, may be a just ground whereon to raise suspicion, that *some* of those Verses commonly reputed *Sibylls*, were no better; but that all were *so*, or that the most, is not at any hand to be admitted, seeing they were insisted on so much, and appealed to so often,

ten, by very many Antient, Learned and Prudent Fathers, namely, *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Lactantius*, *&c.* who instead of defending, would have indeed betrayed the Christian Doctrine, had they underpropt it with so weak and false supports. Questionless, 'tis the only way to stagger and discredit the greatest Truths, to go about to establish them with lyes and falsities. I confess, it was pretended long ago by the Heathen, that the urged *Sibylls* were Impostures, but *Lactantius* both disavoweth and disproves the scandal. And *Constantine* the Emperour, who had opportunity to know it well, Asserts their Integrity.

Truth is, there would but little Doubt remain in this Particular, concerning the Authority and use of *Sibylls* Writings, were that Exhortation *Pauls* indeed, which *Clemens Alexandrinus* puts upon him, **Libros Græcos** *sumite*, *&* **Sibyllas** *agnoscite*, *quomodo unum Deum significent*,

Clem. Alexand. l. 6. Strom.

nificent, & ea quæ futura sunt, & invenietis in eis Filium Dei *clarius & apertius scriptum.* But to omit Apocryphal and Doubtful Testimonies, that which abundantly Evinceth the Prophecies ascribed to the *Sibylls*, to be for substance theirs, and that they spoke most *clearly*, both of Jesus Christs Nativity, and of his Kingdom, is what hath been noted and insisted on before by *Eusebius* and St. *Austin* of old, as well as many Moderns of late, namely, That *Virgil* in his fourth *Eclogue*, written about thirty years before the Incarnation of our Saviour, doth ineptly apply to *Salominus*, Son of *Pollio*, the *Sibylline* Prophecies, conceived in terms that *agree* exactly to the Great Redeemer, and can to none else. *Ramus* in his Learned Prælections on that (fourth) Eclogue, though he seems himself to hæsitate about the interpretation which so many worthy Persons make, yet he offers much in favour of it. *Salonis in Dalmatia victis*, Pollio *filium*

Ramus in Prælect. ad quartam Eclog.

quo

quo tunc erat auctus, Salonium *cognominavit*: Virgilius *igitur hac* Ecloga γενεθλιακὸν *ejus describit ex adjunctis, quod ejus ætatis* ætas aurea *comes futura sit: eique permulta tribuit, quæ* Christo *dicuntur a* Sibyllis *attributa. Quæ Christiani ita* probata *sunt, ut* Græci *hanc Eclogam Græce converterint: &* Divus Hieronymus *ad* Plautinum *affirmet* Maronem *sine Christo* Christianum *fuisse; & Divus* Augustinus *sentiat, Spiritum sanctum per os inimicorum locutum. Et satis constat* Secundianum *Pictorem, &* Marcellianum *Oratorem, hujus Eclogæ versibus consideratis* Christianos factos esse. Thus he.

And to speak plain *English*, who can longer bark against the *Sibylls* with any face, or think to elevate their Testimonies by consideration of the *clearness* and fulness of their Prophecies, that reflects on what the *Poet* professeth to have receiv'd from *them*, and could not from any after Christ, *viz. That* in the *last*

Age

"*Age* there should a Child be born "of a *Virgin*; *that* he should be "*King* of all the World; *that* he "should *take away* the *sins* of men; "and *that* he should restore unto the "Earth Eternal calm and *peace*; all "which and more too that *Poet* "found in the *Sibylls*. You well know what he sayes,

Ultima Cumæi *venit jam Carminis* *Virgil Eclog. 4.*
atas,
Magnus ab integro seclorum nasci-
tur ordo,
Jam redit & Virgo; *redeunt* Sa-
turnia regna.

Now is come the last age *predicted by the* Sibyll *called* Cumæan, *and that* Great Ordinance *appointed from the Beginning of the world is now* fulfilled. *Now cometh the* Virgin, *and now the* Golden Dayes *of the Kingdom of* Saturn *return again.* Thus he raiseth the Attention of the Reader, and after goes on.

Jam

Jam nova *Progenies* cœlo *dimittitur alto.*
Tu modo nascenti Puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, *& toto surget* gens aurea *mundo*,
Casta fave Lucina, tuus jam regnat Apollo, *&c.*
Te duce, *si qua manent* sceleris vestigia *nostri*,
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine *terras.*
Ille Deûm vitam *accipiet*, Divisque videbit
Permistos Heroas, *& ipse videbitur illis*:
Pacatumque regit patriis virtutibus orbem.
At tibi prima puer nullo munuscula cultu,
Errantes hederas passim cum baccare tellus,
Mistaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho:
Ipsæ lacte domum referent distenta capellæ

Ubera,

Ubera, nec magnos metuent *armenta Leones.*
Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
Occidet & Serpens, & *fallax* herba veneni, &c.
Aggredere ô magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
Chara Deûm soboles, *magnum* Jovis Incrementum.
Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasq; tractusq; maris, cœlumq; profundum:
Aspice, venturo lætentur *ut omnia* seclo, *&c.*

Which Mr. *Sands* thus translates,

"*Now a* new Progeny *from Heaven*
"*to Earth*
"*Descends* : Lucina *favour this*
"*Childs Birth,*
"*In* whom *the* Iron-age ends: *forth-*
"*with shall follow*
"*A* Golden race, *now Reigneth thy*
"Apollo, *&c.*

"*Now shall our* Crimes *whose steps* "
"*do still appear,*
"*Be* raz'd ; *and Earth deliver'd*
"*from long fear.*
"*The* Life of Gods shall lead ; *shall*
"*Heroes see*
"*With Gods commixt, and seen of*
"*them shall be ;*
"*And with his Fathers* Power *th'*
"*appeas'd world guide.*
"*Free Earth her Native* Presents *shall*
"*provide*
"*For thee, sweet Boy : wild Ivy,*
"Baccaris,
"*Smelling* Acanthus, *broad* Colo-
"casis :
"*Goats to their homes shall their full*
"*Udders bear ;*
"*Nor shall our* Heards *the raging*
"Lions fear.
"*The Cradle shall sprout flowers :*
"*the* Serpents seed
"*Shall be* destroy'd, *and the false*
"*poysonous weed,* &c.
"*Dear* Issue of the Gods, *Great*
"Jove's Increase,
"*Produce those* Times *of Wonder,*
"*Worth and Peace.* "*Lo*

"*Lo, how the world, surcharg'd with*
"*weight doth reel,*
"*which Sea and Land and Profound*
"*Heaven do feel.*
"*Lo, how all Joy in this wisht Times*
"*approach!* &c.

To whom can all this agree, but to Christ?

And now, having vindicated the *Sibylls*, and evinced many of the Prophecies ascribed to them to be truly *theirs*; I am next to do as much for *Hermes Trismegistus*, whom all will readily acknowledge to have been *inspired*, if *Pimander* and other cited works be *his*, which to shew to be so, is my present Business.

And verily, did I not reflect upon the *Lust* some Critical and Learned men have of making Tryal of their Wits *any way*, and *this* especially in elevating the Authority of Antient and received Writings; of which we have a great instance in the Noble *Francis Picus* (seconded by others) who hath taken much

pains to shew how little certain we are that any of the many Volumes generally reputed *Aristotles*, are indeed his; I say, were it not for this Reflection, I should extreamly admire how any Prudent and Judicious Persons of latter times, should call in question the Legitimacy of Writings *antiently* received without question, and for which they cannot name another Father, there not being an *Annius*, a Monk, to Father the *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, as there is to Father false *Berosus* and *Manetho*. Again, not to urge that *Asclepius* is commonly affirmed to have been translated by *Apuleius*, and if it were so, it cannot be conceived a Pious Fraud: I will only add a Testimony out of *Jamblicus* (who yet is pressed by some against them) which, well considered, will signifie with you as much in favour of the Writings generally called *Trismegistus*'s, as it doth with me: It is in his *Mysteries*, where I find these words, *His ita discretis, facile sol-*

De Trismegisto Videsis Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. Lactan. Instit. l. 4. c. 9.

Jambl. de Myst.

ventur dubia, *quæ in* Libris Ægyptiis, *quos Legisti, concepisse dicis: Qui enim sub* **Mercurii Titulo** *circumferuntur*, **Opiniones Mercuriales** *continent, etsi sæpe* Philosophorum Græcorum Stylo *loquuntur; sunt enim ex lingua* Ægyptia *in* Græcam *translati à viris Philosophiæ non imperitis. Stobæus* hath much out of them; and verily there are as Learned and Judicious men of the Moderns, who do assert the Authority of those Writings, as any that deny it. *Marsilius Ficinus, Patricius, Steuchus, &c.* are great names, nor can I in *Coringus* himself, find that against them, which well weighed may over-balance what I have propounded now in Defence of them.

But to return; *there were other wayes of Revelation* by which the Gentiles may be thought to have received the knowledge of Religion, I will instance but in *One*, and that is **Publick Tition.** For to make a Judgement of what may have been

done in former and long ago elapsed times, by what has been done of the late [almost] in ours, I will refresh your remembrance of the Famous History of the *Apparition* at *Medina*, with the mention of what I find concerning it in *Knolls*.

Knolls Turk. Hist. f. 1384. Ed. 5.

"There came news to *Constantinople* of a strange *Apparition* which "was seen at *Medina Talnabi* in "*Arabia*, whereas *Mahomet* the "Great Prophet was buried, to visit "whose Tomb the *Turks* use to go "in Pilgrimage, but they must first "go to *Mecha*, which is some few "dayes journey off, and there take a "Ticket from the *Grand Signiours* "*Beglerbeg*, else they are not al-"lowed to go to *Medina*. This *Vi-"sion* continued *three weeks* toge-"ther, which terrified the whole "Countrey, for that no man could "discover the Truth thereof. A-"bout the twentieth of *September* "there fell so great a Tempest, and "so fearful a Thunder about mid-"night, as the Heavens were dark-"ned,

"ned, and those that were awake "almost distracted, but the vapours "being dispersed, and the Element "clear, the *People* might read in "*Arabian Characters* these words in "the Firmament, **OH WHY "WILL YE BELIEVE "IN LIES!** Between two and "three in the morning there was "seen a *Woman* in *White*, compassed "about with the *Sun*, having a "cheerful countenance, and holding "in her hand a **Book**; coming from "the North West, opposite against "her were Armies, *Turks*, *Persians*, "*Arabians* and other *Mahometans* "ranged in order of Battle, and rea-"dy to charge her; but she kept "her standing, and only *opened* the "Book, at the sight thereof these "Armies fled, and presently all the "*Lamps* about *Mahomets* Tomb "*went out*; for assoon as ever the "Vision vanished, (which was "commonly an hour befor Sun-rise-"ing) a murmuring Wind was "heard, whereunto they imputed

"the extinguishing of the Lamps, "The Antient *Pilgrims* of *Maho-*"*mets* Race, who after they have "visited this Place, never use to cut "their Hair, were much amazed, "for that they could not conceive "the meaning of the Vision; only "one of the *Dervises* declared it, "and dyed a *Martyr*. Thus the *Turkish History*. There are many other Stories of Apparitions not unlike the former, to be had in *Purchas*, as that of *Virachocha*, who appeared to the *Peruans*, and taught them: And that of the *Maur*, or Stranger, bearded and clothed like a Christian, who to the Pagans of *Brasile*, did Preach the knowledge of God, but not believed by them, was succeeded by another, who delivered them a *Sword*, since which they have accustomed to kill, and eat one another. The Apparition of a *Cross* to *Constantine*, and of words about *it*, is generally received, and reported, not only by *Eusebius* in the Life of that great Empe-

Purchas Pilg. part. 2. l. 1. c. 2.

Emperour, but also by *Eutychius* in his *Annals*; who addeth a Story of *another* that appeared in *Golgotha*, concerning which he Reporteth *Cyrill* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to have written to the Emperour *Constantius*, Son of *Constantine* the Great, in these words; *Sub Patre tuo beatæ memoriæ Imperatore apparuit* Crux *Domini Christi Stellis* [effigiata] *medio die in cœlo; ac jam* te Regnante (*Imperator Fœlix*) apparuit *super Cranii* [loco] Crux *è Luce cujus splendor Solis splendorem ipso meridie superat.* And so much for the *second way* of Revelation and Vision, wherein Divine Knowledge may have been communicated to the Gentiles. But to proceed,

Eutych. Annal. f. 475, 476.

Thirdly, That *some of the knowledge owned by the Gentiles, was derived at first or second hand from the* **Hebrewes**, *and Church of God*, is undenyable by him that shall consider, how that in most Antient times, *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia* were the **Parts** of Wisdom for the rest of

Diod. Sic. l. 2. Porphyr. de vit. Pythag.

of the World, and that both these received much from the *Hebrews*.

That *Ægypt and Phœnicia were Marts of wisdom*, is most certain. As for Egypt, it was repaired to by all the World, so celebrate it was for knowledge. There it was that *Thales* had his Institution, who was the first Philosopher in *Greece*, and Author of the Sect *Ionic*; and it was thence that the great *Pythagoras* Author of the Sect *Italic*, did fetch his Wisdom. *Homer* himself, that Glorious Father of the *Gracian* Poets, was so obliged unto *Ægypt* for his great Science, of which he was Master, that (if we may believe *Clement* of *Alexandria*) many thought him an *Ægyptian*. Yes, and long before them all the famous *Orpheus*, numbred by St. *Austin* among the Heathen Theologues, as unto whom the Antient *Grecians* owed their Theology; He (as we are told by *Diodorus*) went a Pilgrimage to *Ægypt* to learn it; and is for that Reason

Laert. in vit. Thal.

Porphyr. ubi supra.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

Diod. l. 1.

Reason honoured by *Virgil* both with the *name*, and with the *Habit* of *Priest*.

Nec non Threïceus *longa cum* veste Sacerdos
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum.

This for *Greece*.

As for *Phœnicia*, that of *Pliny*, *ipsa Gens* Phœnicum *in Gloria magna literarum*, &c. That *the* Phœnicians *were illustrious over all the Earth for their knowledge in letters*, is to be remarked; and it is as certain by the same *Author*, as by concurrent Testimony of many others, that the *Greeks* themselves received Letters from them, and not unlikely other knowledge with Letters: nor can it reasonably be so much as doubted, but that this noble people trading into most parts of the Universe, communicated to them what they had heard, and what they knew of God.

Plin. Hist. Nat. L. 5. c. 2.

Now

Now *that both* Ægypt *and* Phœnicia *received knowledge of the true God, and Articles of true Religion from the Hebrews*, will be evident to all that mind; *First*, That *Abraham*, *afterwards* that *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and for some hundred of years, all the numerous offspring of the twelve Patriarchs were in *Ægypt*; and when these last were redeemed and placed in the Land of *Canaan*, there ever was *such intercourse* between them and the *Ægyptians*, as must necessarily occasion in the latter some Discourses of the true God, and true Religion. I confess they generally *hated* the Religion of the *Hebrews*, because of the Aversion and Contrariety therein unto their own; But then, by reason of its *strangeness*, they *talked* the more of it.

Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 9. I am apt enough to believe, that *Ægypt* owed much to *Abraham*, as well for that Skill and Knowledge which it had in *Divinity*, as that in *Astronomy*, *Geometry* and other

other parts of the *Mathematicks*, for which in after times the *Ægyptians* were in such repute; yes, and perhaps from him they might receive their very *Letters* themselves, to which belief I am inclined by what I read in *Pliny*, who yieldeth the *Assyrians* to have had *advantage* of all Nations in point of Letters, when he saith, *Literas semper arbitror* Assyrias *fuisse; sed alii apud Ægyptios à Mercurio*, ut Gellius; *alii apud Syros repertos volunt.* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 1. c. 9.

And *Phœnicia* was so near *Palestine*, where the Fathers *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* sojourned, and where afterwards according to the Promise, their *Posterity* inhabited; and in the Dayes of *David* and *Solomon*, and not unlikely both before and after, by reason of *Trade* (facilitated by *community* of Language, the *Punic* and *Hebrew* differing only in a *Dialect*) there was such commerce and intercourse between the *Hebrews* and *Phœnicians*, that the Manners and Religions of both people,

ple, cannot be conceived to be unknown to either, *Epicharmus* in *Clement* affirms the *Phœnicians* to have received their Letters from the *Jews*, and so doth *Eupolemus*.

And having mentioned *Solomon*, with the Intercourse between the *Hebrews* and *Phœnicians* in his time, I cannot pretermit a not impertinent note, which it occasions me to make; It is that the **Brachmans** and **Gymnosophists**, men of so fair a Reputation thoroughout the whole Universe for Knowledge and Philosophy, were the *Off-spring of the Voyage to Ophir*, and that the *Jews* that fetched Gold from *India* (for *Ophir* is in *India*, beyond *Ganges*, where *Chryse* was of old, and now the Kingdom of *Pegu*) left behind them in that Golden Countrey, *Doctrines* much more precious than the Metals they went for. *Those* were the Institutions for which so many ages after, these Philosophers of *India* were so Venerable; whose very *way* and *method* of Philosophizing,

De Brachman. Gymnosophist. Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. 15. Apul. Florid. l. 1. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

phizing, which as *Laertius* notes, was *Ænigmatical* and *Sententious* [θεὸν τιμᾶν, καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν, καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν, *Worship God: Do no Evil: Exercise Fortitude:*] was as conformable to that of *Moses*, as was the Matter of their Philosophy. Such was the *Rise* and Origin of the *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists*. *Laert. de vitis in Prom.*

And for the **Persian Magi**, though some derive the *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists* of *India* from them, and others on the contrary the *Magi* from the *Brachmans* or *Gymnosophists*, affirming that *Histaspis* Father of *Darius*, travelled into *India* with design to learn Philosophy and Magick, the which the *Magi* afterwards professed in *Persia*: Yet I have cause to think, that omitting the Magick whereof *Zoroaster* is reputed Author and Founder, the *Magi* celebrated by the *Greeks* for Doctrines so conformable unto the Christians, owe their *Original* and Rise to **Daniel.**

And

And what inclineth me to this Belief, is that *Daniel* was considered first by *Nebuchadnezzar*, afterward by *Belteshazar* as a Great *Magus* or Wise man, and had in such Repute and Honour, that he was preferred by the *former* to be *chief of the Governours of all the* Wise men *in Babylon*, or as it is interpreted **Master** *of the Magicians, Astrologers, Chaldæans, Southsayers*; and by the *latter* made the *third Ruler* in the Kingdom. Yes, and at the Entry of *Darius*, in whom the Kingdom was translated from the *Assyrians* to the *Medes* and *Persians*, he *had* the honour of being, *first*, the *President* over all the Princes of the Provinces, and *then*, *after* the Conspiracy of all the *Magi* and *Princes* against him, in the progress of the Government of the same Prince, he had the Happiness to *see their Ruine*, and to *hear* his *God* proclaimed God and King thoroughout the whole extent of the Empire. Thus perished the old

Ma-

Magick, the sam'd Superstition of *Zoroaster*, it was extinguished with those that made Profession of it, and **another kind of Magick** (to use the Heathen Term) introduced by *Daniel* (then of great Authority and Influence) *even* that of *Moses*, which was continued down along from *him* (among the Jews) in the Schools of the Prophets, accordingly as *he* had promised, and predicted that it should be, *the Lord your God shall* raise up *unto you* another Prophet *like unto me*. It was for *this Magick* that the *Jews* were noted; *Talis erat* Moses (saith *Strabo*, speaking of *Magi* or Diviners) *& successores ejus: qui cum initia non mala habuissent, postea in deterius delapsi sunt.* A Censure much truer of the Gentile Superstition. *Strab. Geog. L.18.*

In this I am confirmed, *First*, By that of *Pliny*, who having spoken of the *Magick* of *Zoroaster*, adds, *est & alia* Magices *factio à Mose, à Janne & Jotape* Judæis *pendens, sed multis millibus* annorum *post Zoroastrem.* *Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 30. c. 1.*

And there is another *exercise of* Magick, *derived from the* Jews, Moses, Jamnes, and Jotape [perhaps he means *Jannes and Jesbus*, so confused is Tradition] *but by many thousand years* later *than* that *of* Zoroaster. And *also* that in *Diogenes Laertius*, some who by the great conformity of Tenents observable between the *Jews* and *Magi*, were convinced of some Relation and intercourse between them, yet unwilling to acknowledge the Truth, that the *Magi* proceeded from the *Jews*, affirmed that the *Jews* derived from the *Magi*, Ἴνοι δ ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς τοῦτον ᾦ, *And some say, the* Jews *came from those* Magi. To this add, that the *Greeks* must be conceived to mean this *New Order of Magi*, and not the *old*, who would derive them from *Hiſtaſpis*.

Laert. de Vit. in Prom.

And for the Druids both of *Britain* and *Gaul*, there is so great *Resemblance* in their Institutions, Discipline and Doctrine, with the *Jewish Priesthood*, that it is not difficult

to

to guess their *Original*: It was the Office of the *Druids*, as of the Jewish *Priests*, to procure Sacrifices private and publick, to interpret Laws, to instruct Youth, to decide and umpire Controversies, *& si quis aut privatus aut populus eorum* decretó non stetit, *Sacrificiis* interdicunt, &c. *And if either Person or People will not* bide by their award, *they* Excommunicate (*and out-law*) *him*. In order to discharge the Office last mentioned, all the *Druids* (over whom presided *one* that had Supream Authority, as who would say, the *High Priest*) did once a year upon a certain and determinate Time, use to *assemble* in a Consecrated Place in *midst* of *Gaul*, where they sate in Judgement, and where all the People that had any Differences depending, conven'd before them, to have them ended. Not much unlike what is ordained in *Deut.* 17. 8, 9, 10. In fine, what makes it more probable, is a common *Usage* mentioned by *Cæsar* to have been among the

Cæsar. Com. l. 6.

Cæsar. Gal. l. 6.

the *Gauls*, which likely they received from the *Druids*, namely, of *computing times*, not as other *European* People, by the number of the *Dayes*, but *Nights*, they so observing *Nativities*, the *beginning* of Months, and of Years, that the night therein precedes the Day. A Custom bottomed upon the Great *Originist*, and that account he gives us of the *Genesis* and Rise of things, wherein the Darkness was before the Light, Night before Day. *Evening and Morning made the first Day, &c.*

And now I make no Question, but you will tell me, *that* you should not doubt the *Druids* were of *Hebrew* Institution, and Original, could you be resolved *how* it came to pass, that Nations so remote as the *Gaules* and *Hebrews*, should communicate knowledges. Wherein to give you satisfaction, I shall plainly evidence, *First*, *That* the *Gaules* received the *Druids* Institution from the *Britains*, and then

that

that the *Britains* immediately received it from the *Orient*; not unlikely from the *Phenicians* [who failed hither.]

That the *Gauls received the* **Institution** *of the* **Druids** *from* **Britain,** was in the Dayes of *Caesar* a receiv'd Opinion. *Disciplina* in Britannia *reperta, atque* inde *in* Galliam *translata esse existimatur. This* Discipline *of the* Druids *is also found in* Britain, *and it is believed* from thence *transplanted into* Gaul. Which Opinion he confirms, *& nunc qui diligentius eam* rem *cognoscere volunt, plerumque* illo discendi causa *proficiscuntur. And even to this day, those who will more thoroughly* understand that matter, *do for the most part sail over into* Britain *to* learn *it.* And indeed it cannot be imagined to be communicated from the *Jews* any other way than by *Sea,* since the Intermediate Countreys, through which it must have passed by Land, have no *Vestigia* of it.

Caes. Com. l. 6.

As for the second Point, *That the* Britains *received those Knowledges, which were the foundation of the* Druids *Institution from the* **Orient**, is very probable, because it is apparent by very antient Story, that they had no little Correspondence with it; for not only *Cæsar*, but *Diodorus Siculus* mentions the *Chariots* that (as in the *Eastern* Countreys) they used in War, which the rest of *Europe* did not, and the latter saith expresly. ——————Britanniam *tradunt incolere* Aborigines, *qui* Priscorum more *vitam degunt*, *utuntur enim in pugna* curribus, *velut* antiquos *Græcorum* Heroes *usos in bello* Trojano *ferunt*. *The Inhabitants of* Britain *are said to be* Aborigines, *living after the manner of the* Antients, *for in fight they use* Chariots, *as in the* Trojan War (they say) *the Old* Heroes *of the* Greeks *did*.

Cæsar. Com. l. 5.
Diod. Sic. l. 6.

That the *Phœnicians sailing hither*, *and* Jews *perhaps with them*, *brought*

brought those knowledges, is most likely, because *they* were *the* Merchants of the World, and antiently most famous both for Navigation and for Trade, so that as *Gold* obliged them to sail to *India*, **Tinn** might to visit *Britain*. *Britanni qui juxta Velerium Promonturium incolunt* [which dwell at the *Lizard*] mercatorum *usu qui eo* stanni gratia *navigant*, *Humaniores reliquis erga Hospites habentur*. Thus *Diodorus*. So long ago was this Island fam'd for *Tinn*, for which in *Cæsars* time it drove a great Trade with the *Gauls*.]

Vid. Ezek. c. 12.

Diod. Sic. l. 5.

In fine, not to mention that the *name* of *Druid* derived from δρῦς an Oak, a *Tree* of old in much Repute with the *Hebrews*, that which renders it the less Unlikely that the *Phœnicians*, inlightned by the *Jews*, *were founders of the Order of Druids*, is that *conformity of Customs that the* Gauls *had with them in* sacrificing men *for expiation of God*, and for Redemption of

their own souls, they being framed to this Usage by the *Druids* upon a a *Ground* received from the *Phenicians*, *Quod pro* vita hominis (as *Caesar* gives it) *nisi* vita hominis *reddatur, non posse Deorum immortalium* numen placari: *That* nothing *can* appease *the Immortal* Deity, *or content and satisfie for the* life of man; *but* the life of a man. This *Principle* [the *rise of* Humane Sacrifices] whereon (if the Story be not a corruption of that in Holy Writ of *Jephta*) *Agamemnon* offer'd *Iphigenia*, looketh high, and doth effectually evince what I so often have inculcated, *that the Heathen usage of* sacrificing men *had its* foundation *in that great* Tradition of the Seed of the Woman, *that he was to make his soul an Offering to God for sin*, and *that* no consideration could content Divine Justice for the *Lives* of men that had been *forfeited* to it in the fall, but the *Life* of *Christ* a *Man*. The Redemption of a soul is precious.

Cæsar. Com. l. 6.

Steph. Dichion. Histor. in Iphig.

It

It is true, I find in *Diodorus*, that the **Ethiopians** were so great Pretenders unto Religion and Antiquity, that they affirmed Worship (itself) to have had its Origin and Rise among them. *Asserunt Deorum* (saith he) *apud eos* cultum primitus adinventum, *Sacra insuper, Pompas, celebritates aliaq; quibus Diis honores impenduntur, ab eis fuisse* reperta. *Qua ex re ipsorum in Deos pietate, religioneque inter omnes vulgata videntur Æthiopum* sacra *Diis admodum* grata *esse. Hujus rei Testimonium asserunt Antiquissimum fere ac celeberrimum apud Græcos Poetarum, qui in sua Iliade Jovem reliquosque una Deos introducit in Æthiopiam tum ad sacra quæ eis de more fiebant, tum ad odorum suavitatem commigrantes.* Diod. Sic. l. 4.

But 'tis easie to imagine, how *they* might receive their knowledge from the *Ægyptians*, their Neighbours, and consequently (though we should not believe *Josephus*, that

Meroe

Meroe antiently was *Saba*) how much they were indebted to the **Queen** of **Sheba**, and the *Jews*, *that* great Person so dispersing and spreading among the Heathen far and near, the knowledge learned by her in the Royal Court of *Solomon*, that *she* is in story celebrated for it for a **Sibyll**, and so styled by some the *Babylonian*, and by others the *Ægyptian*. I impose not my conceits upon you; what I now say, is a matter vouched by as good Authority as any we can have for things of this Nature. Hear *Pausanias*, Ἐπιγένεται δὲ ἄλλη γυνὴ τῶν Δημοῦς ὀπίσω Ἑβραίων τοῖς ἀνδρὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων γένος γραμματικόν, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ ΣΑΒΕΗ· οἱ δὲ ἀνδῶν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Σιβύλλαν καλοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίαν. *After* Demo, *there comes another*, *who by the* Hebrews *that inhabit above* Palæstine, *is reputed a wise or* Inspired *woman*, *her name is* **SABBA**, *whom some call the* Babylonian, *some the* Ægyptian Sibyll. Thus *He*.

Pausan. in Phocic.

Further, I might here add what others

others have discoursed more at large before me, that the *Greek Philosophers* immediately *derived from the* Jews *some of the knowledge which they had of true Religion. Clemens Alexandrinus* undertook the Province long ago (which since him others also have discharged) it is his main business in his second Book of *Stromata*, to demonstrate how Prodigious Plagiaries the *Greeks* were in all the Rites of their Religion, and to instance what they stole from the *Jews*. And though *Lactantius* gainsay what I am now about to tell you, yet I find it in *Porphyrie*, (viz.) *That* Pythagoras *himself did travel to the Hebrews*, and was instituted by them: and *Aristotle*, though I think him not a *Jew*, as some assert him, yet (if we may believe *Clearchus*, his Disciple, who in *Josephus* tells you it) he was instructed by a *Jew*, a *Cœlo-Syrian*. In fine, **what** to me is more than all I yet have said, it is evident from the History of Sa-

Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag. Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

cred Scripture, that *it was the great Design and End of God*, who is most Wise and Good, *to give the rest of the World*, *at convenient Periods*, *some Intimations and Discoveries of himself by means of the* Hebrews, to the end that he might never leave himself *without witness*, but might *Refresh* the knowledge which they had received of him by Tradition, or otherwise, when it was almost *outworn* and vanisht. For this purpose, while mankind was yet but of a narrow spread, he ordained the *travells* of the *Patriarchs*; and when afterwards it was of greater, he set up the Nation of the *Hebrews*, as it were a *Beacon* on a Hill, in the midst of all the Earth to lighten it. And more than that, he orders *several scatterings* and dispersions of them; *first* of the *ten Tribes* by *Salmanazer*; *then* of the *two* by *Nebuchadnezar*, into *Countreys* into which there was *Resort* from all the world. *After* this, he in his Providence obliged *Alexander*, great Founder of the

the *Grecian* Monarchy, to visit *Jewry*, *to* venerate *Jaddus* the Priest, *to* Invest the Nation of the Jews with great Immunities and Priviledges. From which time not only the *People*, but their *Usages* and Laws became of so much Reputation, that *Ptolomy* (the Son of *Lagus*) that great Patron of Learning, and Lover of Books, procured the *Mosaick* Writings to be solemnly translated into *Greek* [then the Universal Language] by *which means* the knowledge of God, as well as Copies of the Bible, were dispersed and scattered throughout the whole Earth. In a word, who knoweth not that in our *Saviours time*, there were *Jews* or *Israelites* of all Nations under Heaven? of so large a spread then was the knowledge of God, *Acts* 2.

So beholding were the Gentiles; and yet it cannot be denyed, but that they so *avers'd* and hated the *Jews*, to whom they were obliged, that in their Writings they make *no* frequent

frequent *mention* of them, and when they do *any*, it is with hard words; Reflecting on them as a People most conceited, superstitious, absolutely unworthy all remembrance; for which Reason their *Doctrines* were by most *despised*, or if received by some more knowing and discerning than the Rest, and so proposed to others, it ever was with much disguise and alteration, lest they should betray their Original. Thus, *the* Light *shined in Darkness, and the Darkness comprehended it not.*

And so much by way of *Demonstration* of the *knowledges* the Gentiles had *before* Christ; and of the *Methods* wherein (it may be probably presumed) they received them. As for *what they have been Owners of* since, and how they came to be so, I shall only offer what is generally acknowledged, that in the very first *Age* and Century, the *Gospel way communicated unto all the Earth*, either by the Apostles them-

themſelves, or their Diſciples and followers [*their ſound went over all the Earth, and their words to the End of the World;*] and that there was not *that Place* and Region then inhabited, wherein it may not be evinced by either plain and undoubted Hiſtory, or by apparent Probability, that the name of Chriſt was heard of. *Go diſciple all Nations* (ſaith our Saviour to his Apoſtles) and *the Fall of the* Jews (ſaith *Paul*) *ſhall be the Riches of the* Gentiles. Among the Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theophylact*, *Hilary* are of the ſame Opinion: And in the Induſtrious *Purchas* you may read the ſeveral *Peregrinations* of the Apoſtles, with the Proofs he gives of them. *Purchas Part* 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

It were eaſie for me to inſtance in the moſt *Remote Regions*, how the *Goſpel* came into them, but that I judge it ſuperfluous, only, becauſe you mentioned *China* as an Example of the groſſeſt Ignorance of God and Chriſt, I ſhall mind you of

of the **Antient Stone**, not many years ago discovered in it, which affords an admirable *Testimony*, that the Gospel penetrated *thither*, by means of St. *Thomas*; as also of the **Chaldee Breviary**, cited by *Alvarez Semedo*, which assures us of the early preaching of the Gospel of the same Apostle among the *Chinesians*, *Indians*, *Æthiopians* and *Persians*. And for *America*, it is evident from *Vega* who was born in *Cusco*, and of the race of the *Inca's*, That it was uninhabited long after the Incarnation of our Saviour; and some have thought it worth their *labour* to evince, That at least some of the Inhabitants in it are *Jews*. And it would be worth *ours*, had I leisure to display the admirable Methods wherein Providence hath from time to time revived the knowledge of Jesus Christ in Regions where it was effaced and worn out.

Alvarez Semedo Hist. of China, par. 1. c. 31.

Vid. Purchas par. 1. l. 1. c. 2. f. 7.

Thorowgood, Jews in America.

But you will say (that) perhaps the Antient Heathen might be so enlightned

enlightned before Christ, and so since, and that those among them which were *Humane* and *Civil*, might retain much of what they had received from their Ancestors, or otherwise, in points of Religion, but that it is as evident there are a many **Savage** and **Barbarous** ones, for instance, not to mention any remote and distant times, *these* in *ours about the Bay of Soldania*, and *Cape* of *Good Hope*, the *Lapps* and many others. And *shall* **these** *be damned to Eternal Torments, for what they cannot help? shall* these *be cast into* everlasting *Darkness, and Sorrows, without Reserves, &c.*

I answer, that *besides that their Ancestors may long ago have had the opportunity of hearing the Gospel*, which they either entertained not, or having entertained, afterwards Revolted from it to Barbarity and Heathenism, so that God in Righteous Judgement might punish them in their Posterity, with the want of what they rejected; I say

besides that, *there is no Nation under Heaven so Inhumane*, Barbarous and Savage, *but* that though it may not have as much as many others, yet *it hath* **sufficent light** concerning God, and concerning common Offices and Duties of men, such as does leave them inexcusable, and without Defence [Ἀναπολογήτους in *Pauls* expression.] Of this *no Question* can be made, in as much as those that have the *least light have more than they improve* or live to, which having, there is no Reason for them to complain they have too little; it is their *Omission* (and no man may pretend the Advantage of his own Guilt) as well as their Unhappiness they have no more, who imploy not, and improve not what they have. Light is a *Growing* and Improvable thing, they would have received *more*, in *using* what they had: The Blessed *Spirit* who is free and unconfined, and who bloweth where he listeth, would not have failed to *Assist sincere* and

and hearty endeavours.

This is certainly the case of *all* how Barbarous, Rude and Savage soever, they have sufficient Light and Means afforded to them to be better, a *Light* **within** them, and a Light **without** them, *Subjective* and *Objective* Light.

First, A *Light* **within them.** This is the true Light *that enlightens every man that comes into the world.* By the *Light within,* I understand nothing but Λόγος ὀρθὸς, *Practique Reason,* that Ray of Jesus Christ [the Sun of Righteousness] who is Original, First and Primitive Reason; by *which a man enabled to discern* Good and Evil, Vertue and Vice, Rectitude and Turpitude, *is agreeably inclined to pursue one, and to Refuse the other.* So *Seneca*, "I now therefore re- Sen. Epist. 120.
"turn unto that which thou desirest "me to Resolve thee in, *how* the "knowledge of that which is *Good* "and *Honest* came *first* unto us. "This *Nature* could not teach us,

"for ſhe gave us but the *Seeds* of "Sciences, and not Science it ſelf. "Some ſay that we caſually come "to the knowledge thereof, which "is Incredible; that the Image of "Vertue ſhall caſually appear un- "to any man. But we ſuppoſe that "by *Diligence*, *Obſervation*, and "frequent *conference of things*, "*eſtimated by that which is Good* "and Honeſt, we have attained to "this Knowledge, *&c.*

I know that *Archelaus*, *Ariſtippus*, *Carneades* and others hold Opinion that neither *Rectitude*, nor *Turpitude*, *Vertue* nor *Vice*, *Good* nor *Evil* are by *Nature* ſo, but by *Law*; and that there is nothing either Honeſt or Diſhoneſt, Vertuous or Vitious, Good or Evil, *Eſſentially*, Intrinſecally, and in itſelf, but only by *Denomination* from extrinſecal and forreign Reſpects; *Reſpects* not ingenite in the things themſelves, but, by Poſitive and humane conſtitutions, *ſuperinduced* upon them.

Of the like Opinion are many now *among us*, who apprehend that *Just* and *Legal* are the same, as if *all* in any Government and Society done according unto Humane *Law* and constitution, were *justly* done; whereas, what *Lactantius* long ago observ'd is most true, that it is not *Justice*, which is *Uniform*, simple, and the same in all the World, but *Interest* or Utility that is the *Cause* of *Humane Laws*, which are therefore so *difform*, various and manifold, because as well the *Interest*, as *Humours* of the People to which they be adapted, are *so*. And how can men be Just, by conforming but to Laws that are made by men who may be Unjust? *Aliud est igitur* (saith the Father) *civile jus, quod pro moribus* ubique variatur; *aliud est* vera Justitia, *quam* uniformem *& simplicem proposuit omnibus Deus*. Civil *Law therefore which is every where* diversified *according to the several* manners *of men is* one *thing, and* true Justice

another, *which* uniform *and simple*, *is proposed by God to* All.

But to return to *Archelaus*, *Aristippus*, and *Carneades*, They might as well have said, *That there is no Asperity or Lævity* in Tangible Objects, no *Harmony* or *Dis-harmony* in sounds, that among *odors*, *vapours* and *colours*, some are not in Nature *Pleasing* and *Agreeable* unto these respective Senses they affect, and others *contrary*; but that this *Agreeableness* and *Disagreeableness* of Objects to the *Sense*, from which they are denominated **Good** or **Evil** to *it*, is but a *fiction* of the Humane Mind. I say *as well*; For the *Practique Understanding* is but a *High and racy Sense*, and *as other* Senses, *so this* (within its capacity and Sphere of comprehension) has Objects that are *contrary*, some are *Agreeable*; and some are *otherwise*, and she *Judges* of them. There is Ingrafted in the *Mind* of Man an *Intellectual* **Sense**, a Discernment of what is *Good* and *Evil*; as in the

Eye,

Eye, a sensible one of White and Black; In the *Palate*, a Taste of Bitter and Sweet: In the *Ear*, a Power to Discriminate Harmonies and Discords; in *all* a sense of Pleasure and Pain. **What** is *Harmonious*, Equal, Congruous, and consequently *Pleasing* and Agreeable unto Practique Reason, and accordingly approved by it, which it honours with a *Dictate* that it ought to be pursued, or effected, *that* is called *morally* **Good**; and **what** is *Dis-harmonius*, Inequal or Inconcongruous, and consequently *Painful* and Disagreeable, and accordingly disallowed, of which the Understanding *Dictates* that it ought to be *Avoided*, that is *Morally* **Evil**. To be *morally* Good or Evil, is to be Good or Evil in point of *Manners*; Good and Evil in *manners*, are the *Objects* of the *Practique Understanding*; there are things Agreeable and Disagreeable to the Mind and Practique Understanding, as well as to other Senses. There

are things Good, and things Evil to this High and Racy Sense, as well as to Inferiour Ones.

The *System* of *Prime*, *Common Plain Self-evident Dictates of the Practique Understanding* or Reason (whose Number can no better be Determin'd than that of Fundamentals in Religion) is generally *called* the **Law of Nature**; not only because it is described as it were in *Nature*, and in the very *habitudes* and Respects of things themselves, but also because (as our Apostle happily expresseth it) it is a *Law* whereby a man *is so* unto himself, that is, his very *faculties* themselves, which are his Nature, do as it were prescribe him Laws, which in Opposition unto *Positive* and *written* Laws, are called **Unwritten**, and under that Notion were acknowledged by the Wisest *Heathen*, by *Plato*, by *Aristotle*, by *Cicero* to be the *Catholique* or common *Law* of all mankind.

Plato de Leg. l. 7. Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 10. Cic. Part. Orator. Orat. pro Milon.

I say,

I say, it is *called* Law, the Law of Nature; but in Strictness and Propriety, it is not *Law barely, for that it is a frame of things that Natural Reason sheweth fit*, and necessary to be done or forborn; for seeing *Law* is nothing but the *signification of what a Superiour Power* and authority *requires* from us, in point of doing or not doing, as we would have him pleased, or incurr his Displeasure, Reason doth not by a *naked Dictate* of the *Reasonableness*, and fitness of things, make the Doing of them *Duty* and *Obedience*. For though *Reason* do injoyn for *Matter* and Substance, but what *God* doth; yet properly its *Dictate* is not Law upon the bare account of being an Injunction and command of Reason, but as it is an Injunction and command of God; which is *signified* to us, and made known by Reason. Else Man in the State of Nature were his own *Lord*, and Governour.

Yes,

Yes, that men do hold themselves *obliged* unto things proposed to them by the Practique Understanding, as unto *Duties* which they owe, and consequently that the *Dictates* of the Mind or Understanding are Regarded by them as *Laws*, ariseth from a Belief implanted in them, That *what Reason manifests to be convenient or unconvenient*, Equal or Unequal, Congruous or Incongruous, *is the will of One above* them, that they should Perform, or Omit; It being *Law* only that is capable of making *Duty*, and the *will* of the Superiour only that is capable of making Law. Reason though it may inform us what is *fit* and congruous to be done, yet *Inforces* not what is so to be *duty*; if there go not a Perswasion with it, that what it sheweth, is the *will* of a *Superiour*. The Law of Nature is the Law of God written in Nature, which Reason sheweth, and this maketh Duty.

That

That *Principle by which a Man is* Conscions *that there is a Superiour* (Power) *requiring* him as he would either Please or Displease, to do what Reason dictates fit and convenient, and to forbear the contrary, is **Conscience**, which I take (as it Exists in us) to be an *Instinct of Nature*, or (if you will pardon the expression) *A Natural Habit and Impression transmitted with the Geniture from Parents unto Children.* Reason shews what is to be done, but this *conscience* binds it on the man as *Duty*, and makes him to believe what Reason shews, to be the Will of a Superiour. So the *Apostle*; *these* not *having a Law, are a* Law *unto* themselves: *which shew the* work *of the Law* written *in their* Hearts, *their* Conscience *also bearing witness, and their* thoughts *the mean while Accusing or Excusing one another.* Rom. 2. 14, 15.

I call *Conscience an Instinct.*

To

To comprehend which, it will behove us as well to look *abroad*, and *about*, as *into* our selves. There is in *Animals that want Reason, a Principle of Action which we call Instinct, by which* a Hound doth follow the Hare; the Hare avoids the Hound; a Chicken dreads the Kite; a Lamb at first sight of the Wolf will tremble and seek Sanctuary; *By which* Birds instructed both *to* build their Nests, *to* sit on their Eggs, and *to* feed their young, are moved to seek Places of most Advantage and Retreat to conceal them. And *such a Principle in man is Conscience*; It is an *Instinct*, or (if you please) *a Natural Impression* of a Future Judgement *in the Mind of Man*; You may call it a *Natural Habit*. An *Habit*, because it was *at first* an Adventitious Impression; *Natural*, because *now* it is Original, and transmitted in the *same* way *as* other Natural Qualities.

This

This Impression of a future Judgement, or the Fear of God as Judge, might first be taken by *Adam*, when after he had eaten the Forbidden fruit, Hearing God coming, he avoided him and fled; [which I the rather think, because *Natural Conscience* (before Illumination of it by Divine Grace) is apter to accuse and terrifie for Evil done, than to *receive comfort* for Good.] Which Impression so Received and Transmitted to Posterity, is confirmed and strengthned, or else weakned and abated in them, and perhaps extinguisht by *Education* and *Usage*. A constant Exercise of Religion, by Preserving *Fear* of God, preserves the Impression; without *that*, it first Abates, and then Expires; Men of no *Religion* will in time be men of no *Conscience*. Conscience in *Adam* was *Knowledge*; he feared God because he knew him; In his children *Instinct*, they naturally *fear a Reckoning*; and *can't help it*.

Taking

Taking this to be the true Nature of *Conscience*, that it is the *Practique* or *Reflexive Power of the mind* (as) *formed with an Instinct* of a *Future Judgement*; All its *Operations* are most easily conceived. For then if a man Reflect and seriously considers, either that he hath omitted, what he ought to have done, or else hath practised what he ought not: he is *conscious in it* that he hath Incurred the Displeasure of a Superiour Power, and consequently is full of *Terrors*, and *Horrors*, from an apprehension of *his* coming to Judge for it; or if he be conscious that he hath *Performed* what he ought, and consequently that the Power above him is well pleased, this possesseth him with secret Joy, as being one in Favour with his Master, who will not fail one day to make him see the Effects of *it*. Their Consciences *Accusing*, or *Excusing*. This *Conscience* naturally is in every man, who

who by *it* is a Law to himself, till he fear it. Of this Conscience the *Heathen* have spoken much. Hear one or two for all. Ὁ συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ τι, κἂν ᾖ δειλότατος, ἡ συνείδησις αὐτὸν δειλότατον ποιεῖ. *He that is conscious to himself of any crime, be he never so stout, his* conscience *makes him* most fearful *and Timid.* Τὸ μὴ συνειδέναι δὲ ἑαυτῷ τῷ βίῳ ἀδίκημα μηδὲν, ἡδονὴν πολλὴν ἔχει. *For a man to be conscious to himself of having done* no wrong *in his* (*whole*) *life, it affords him* unspeakable Pleasure.

Pythag. apud Stob. Serm. 22.

Antiphon. apud Stob. ibid.

So much for the *Light within.* But Divine Bounty infinitely transcending humane Apprehension, hath afforded Man not only Light within, but **Light without.** For *that which may be known of God is manifest unto him. For the Invisible things of God from the Creation of the World, are clearly seen in the things that are made, even his Eternal Power, and God-head, and he*

Rom. 1. 19, 20. Psal. 19. & 89. 3.

Acts 14. 16, 17. *he left not himself without witness*, in that *he did* Good, *and* gave *us* Rain *from Heaven*, *and fruitful* Seasons, *filling our hearts with Food and Gladness.*

This Light without is styled **Natural Theologie**, and is a *manifestation* and Discovery in the things that are made, and in the Providential Dispensation, Government and Conduct of them, That God is, and that he is Almighty, Infinite, Eternal, Immense, All-wise, All-knowing, Bountiful and Benign, which is principally shewed in the former: And that he is Supream Rector and Governour of all, that he loveth Righteousness and doth Right, that he is Gracious and Merciful, and that his Mercy is to All, and over All his works, and this is principally shewn in his Providence. Hear *Hierocles* concerning Natural Theologie, and perhaps Christologie: Περὶ τοῦ θείου δικαιοσύνης ἡ ΦΥΣΙΣ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεποίησεν, ἀνω-

ἀνεμίξω, δι' ἀναλογίας τι ἀυτὸν ἑαυτῷ πανταχῇ διαφέρον ὁμοίωσε, καὶ τὸ θεῖον κάλλος ἐσκιαγράφησε δι' ὅλων τῶν ἐγκοσμίων εἴδων ἄλλως, καὶ ἄλλως· ὅτι ἐκεῖνο μὲν, ἀπόβασιν τὸ ἀκίνητον, γῆ δὲ τὸ μόνιμον· ἐφίστασθαι δὲ τούτοις θείας ὁμοιώσεως ἴχνεσι ἀναγκάζει. Nature *having fashioned the Visible world, according to Divine Measures, did by Proportion every where in different manners, conform it unto himself, and express the Image of Divine Pulchritude in all the Species and kinds of Beings through the Universe, in this one way, in that another; so that Heaven was to have Perpetual Motion, Earth Stability, but both of them to bear some Footsteps of Divine Similitude.* And so the Apostle, *who is the* Image *of the Invisible God, the first born of every creature, for by him* [as by an exemplar] *all things were made,* &c.

This Theologie indeed is **Hieroglyphical** and *Figurative*; Nature, an Allegory, God is represented

sented in her and in Providence, as a Cause in its Effects; and as a thing is signified in the *sign*, that sheweth it, not to the sense, but by it to the mind. But as it is significant, it is also suitable, congruous, convenient unto Humane Nature, and consequently plain enough. For as *Man* is an *embodied*, and incorporated *mind*, a Rational Discoursing *Animal*, one that inferreth thing from thing, so it is agreeable and fit that God should represent himself unto him in *Types*, *Figures*, *Signs*, wayes wherein he is to *exercise* his Reason and Discourse. Such is the Demonstration of Almighty God in the World, It is not that of Colours to the eye, but of Conclusions in the Premises unto the Mind; the Theologie of Nature is significant, and the World, a System of Divinity, Ænigmatical and Symbolical, God is seen and represented in it, but so that while the Senses shew, it is the Understanding

ing that does see; and read him. The Invisible things of God are clearly seen, νοούμενα being minded, Sensibles are Signs; and a Sign is what doth offer somewhat to the Sense; but more to the mind. God must be minded in things made, or else no seeing of him in them, so *Homer*,

——ἴχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο. *Homer. apud Stobæum, Eclog. Ethic. l. 2. c. 163.*

Pursue the Footsteps [or Vestigia] of God.

And so *Pythagoras*, ἕπου θεῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐμφανὴς, ἀλλ' ἐνορώμενος, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν κοσμικὴν εὐταξίαν ἀφορώμενος. *Follow God or Imitate him, who goeth not before us Visibly to the Eye, but who is to be seen by the Understanding* Harmonically, *in the Eutaxie and Goodly order of the world.* *Pythag. apud eundem, ibid.*

So much Light without, and such a Light within have **All**, and those who live not up unto it, and don't improve it, are **inexcusable**, and

without the least Defence or Apologie; [*so that they are without Excuse*———*Now thou art* inexcusable *O man:*] And I take it, Jesus Christ himself in that so well known Parable of the *Talents*, designed the Vindication of Divine Procedure in this Particular now before Us: And (if you will give me leave to say it) even the satisfaction of your scruples. For in the Distribution of the Talents, to one five, to another two, to a third one, conceive him by the *first* to intimate *inlightned Jews* and *Christians*; by the *second*, *Civil*, and by the *third*, *Savage* and *Barbarian Heathens*; and then you have your case; wherein be pleased to observe, How he with one Talent, when called to Account, but Pleadeth for himself as you have pleaded for him, by *Reflection* on his Master, accusing him of *want* of Goodness, and of as much *Injustice* for expecting from him what

Rom. 1. 20.
Rom. 2. 1.

what he could not do, and for condemning him for what he could not help. Then *he which had receiv'd the* One Talent, *came, and said, Lord*, I knew *that thou art an* hard *man*, *reaping where thou hast* not sown, *and gathering where thou* hast not strawed, *&c.* Mt. 25. 24.

Where permit me to observe what here I may insert without Impertinence, That **Idle Ratiocinations**, [such as these ; If I am Elected, I shall be Saved, let me do what I will ; if Reprobate, I shall be Damned, do what I can ; I have no Sufficiency and Power of my self to Act towards my Salvation ; and therefore, How, or Why should I endeavour it? If God expecteth from me more than he hath put into me, and grow angry because he hath not what he looks for, who can help it?] **These** and other such discourses *are the great impediments* to lett and hinder men, in

minding their Eternal concerns; and to deterr them from them: This is the Lion in the way. I call them *Idle Ratiocinations* in conformity to Jesus Christ, who styles them so. For it is not the *common ordinary vain Discourses*, (as many apprehend them, and for countenancing which, they quote a *Rabby*, אבולו על שיחה קלה שבין אשה ובעלה עד דכל יביאורו בסטפט *Etiam propter* sermonem levem *viri cum uxore adducetur ille* in judicium) that are the Λόγοι ἀργοί, the *Idle words* intended by our blessed Saviour, when he tells us that *every* idle word *that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the* day of judgement: But they are the Ratiocinations and Discourses *instanced before*, and the like, *which for that* they do enervate all endeavours, and consequently render men *Idle* in their most important and concerning work, are therefore called *Idle*.

Mr. 12 36.

Lud. Capel. Spic. ad Mat. 12. 36.

That

That this is *so*, I am abundantly convinced, for that I find the very *term in this sense* in frequent use among *Philosophers*, witness *Cicero*, *nec nos impediat illa* ignava ratio *quæ dicitur*, (saith he, whose Testimony is as plain as full) *appellatur enim quidem à* Philosophis Ἀργὸς λόγος: cui *si pareamus*, nihil est *omnino* quod agamus *in vita*: *sic enim interrogant*; si fatum *tibi est ex hoc morbo convalescere, sive medicum adhibueris, sive non*, convalesces; *item*, si fatum *tibi est ex hoc morbo non convalescere*, sive tu medicum adhibueris, sive non, *non* convalesces: *& alterutrum fatum est: medicum ergo adhibere* nihil attinet. *Recte genus hoc interrogationis* **Ignavum** atq; **iners** *nominatum* est, *quod eadem ratione omnis è vita* tolletur actio. Cic. l. de Fato.

But to return; you see how God is *Charged*, and *how* doth he acquit himself from the charge and imputation laid upon him by this

Unprofitable man, but by telling him what I have you: *that* he had received a *Talent*, and that he ought to have *improved* it, and the *rather* for that he apprehended [him] his Master so Severe and Rigid; *That* had he put his Talent, though but one, unto the Exchangers, and so Returned it again unto his Lord with Just *improvement*, he himself in Justice had been held excused, and his Lord contented; which since he hath not done, he is concluded not only Insolent and wicked for his vile calumniation of his Master, but slothful and idle, for not improving his Talent. *The Lord answered and said unto him, Thou* wicked *and* slothful *servant*, &c. which stops his mouth. He had a Talent, and should have improved it. Indeed, the Master would have seemed hard, to look for something, when he had given nothing, but he is not so to look for improvement, where he gives a Talent.

And

And this Reminds me of the **Last** *Particular*, which I promised to evince (for which you see I have prepared the way) in order to the clearing of the present difficulty, and that is, that *God is so good that he accepteth not according to what a a man hath not, but according to* **what he hath**, where he giveth, he expecteth *more*; where less, he looks for less; still he looketh for Returns but in *proportion* unto what he first gives; which since he doth, I see no Room for *Complaints*. No man shall be condemned for what he *could not help*, nor for what he could *not do*.

I know almost Nothing wherein the *Scripture* seemeth fuller than in this Particular: for in the *Parable* of the Talents, as he received *Five* improvements, from him that had *five* given him, so he accepts the *two* by way of improvement, from him that hath *but* two to trade with: and the Man with

with *one* Talent, is not condemned for not *producing five*, or *two*, but for his not *at all* improving
Lev. 5. 7. that *one*. And *if he be* not able *to bring* a Lamb, *then he* shall bring *for his trespass*, *which he hath committed*, two Turtle Doves, *or two* young Pigeons.
Act. 17. 30. *And the times of this* Ignorance *God* winked *at*, *but* now commandeth *All to Repent*. *As* many as *have sinned without Law*, *shall*
Rom. 2. 12. *also perish without Law*; *and as many as have sinned in the Law*, *shall be judged by the Law*. Gods Judgement is *Righteous* and Just; not according to what men have not, but according to what men have, doth God accept.

For my part, I conceive **Sincerity**, and the true Direction of the Intention to do the Will of God, (which ever is accompanyed with suitable endeavours) to import much; yea, most with him. For so a mans endea-

endeavours be unfeignedly designed, and in integrity of Conscience (according to the measures of received Light) to the promotion and advancement of Divine Honour, though the Acts themselves conferr not much to that end; yet I make no question but the good *God* doth what a good *man*, a good *Father*, a Gracious *Prince* would; I mean, he regards the *will*, and good intention of the Agent, rather than the simple Acts themselves that flow from it. Yes he looketh to the Heart; *If there be first a willing mind*, [that must be first] *it is accepted, &c.* Perhaps, while some of us are for *Martyn*, and others for *Luther*, and one against another, God likes well of us All. He understands us to mean the same thing, though we understand not one another, and I fear, never shall.

Vid. Epiphan. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7.

2 Cor. 8. 12.

Finally, I make no question, but sincere *Endeavours* after knowledge

ledge of the true God, and sincere *Intentions* to advance his Glory, are *Recompensed with further Revelations* and discoveries of him, which I take it is the meaning of our Blessed Saviour, saying, (1.) *If thine Eye be single*, that is, if in what thou doest, thou have a love to God, and what proceeds from it, a simple and unbyassed aim at his Glory, then *thy whole body shall be full of Light*, thou shalt receive a more abundant light, and manifestation to direct and guide thee in it: And, (2.) *If any man* will *do his will*, *He* shall know *of the Doctrine*, *whether it be of God*, &c.

Mat. 6. 22.

John 7. 17.

So much for your *fourth* and last Argument, The *Tremendous Circumstances of the Heathen*. In answer whereunto I have evinced *their* cases not to be so sad and Dismal, nor God in his Transactions with them so severe and hard, as some conceit him. I have also proved

proved that the Great Creator, as he doth Inequally Dispense his Light and Favour, so that by his Goodness he is not obliged to do otherwise. That to whom he doth dispense least, he yet affords sufficient to leave them inexcusable, and without cause of complaint. In Fine, I have Evinced that God expecteth not from man, but in proportion unto that he first gives him, more from them that have received more, and less from him that has less. And wherein now in point of Goodness, or of Justice, is he wanting or Defective?

Thus Sir, It is that I have laboured your satisfaction in the several Points wherein you Desired it: And if Integrity, Candor, Sincerity in a Performance, may Justly Bottom any Hopes of its Success, I cannot be without some, That what hath Proved Really convincing and Establishing to me, will also

also Prove the like to others; which that it may, and Particularly to your self, is matter both of Ardent, and of Daily Prayer, to,

SIR,

Your Friend and Servant,

Richard Burthogge.

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CAUSA DEI,

OR AN

APOLOGY

FOR

GOD.

WHEREIN

The Perpetuity of Infernal Tormentes is Evinced, and Divine both Goodness and Justice (that notwithstanding) Defended.

The Nature of Punishments in General, and of Infernal ones in Particular Displayed.

The Evangelical Righteousness Explicated and Settled.

The Divinity of the Gentiles both as to things to be Believed, and things to be Practised, Adumbrated; and the wayes whereby it was Communicated, plainly Discover'd.

By Richard Burthogge, M. D.

London, Imprinted for *Lewis Pinchard* Bookseller in *Tiverts* in *Devon*, and are to be sold by *F. Tyton* at the Three Daggers in *Fleetstreet*. 1675.

To the ever Honour'd

JAMES ERISEY OF ERISEY IN THE COUNTY OF CORNWALL, Esquire.

SIR,

THere is no need we pass the Seas to seek a Countrey of Prodigies, our Own will furnish Instances

enough of *Men* that would be thought more Merciful than God Himself; who not finding in their Hearts how to condemn themselves or others to Eternal Pains, *will* not apprehend how God should find it in His. The main Topicks insisted on by those so tender dispositions in order to the extinguishing the Everlasting Fire are, First, *The* Finity of *Sin*, that in its own Nature cannot Merit an Infinite Punishment. Secondly, *The* Nature of *Punishment*, which is for Castigation and Amendment, wherewith the Perpetuity of it cannot consist. Thirdly, *The* almost Invincible Tencations that even *Christians* (Weak and Im-

Impotent as they be) are surrounded with , which renders the state of Absolute Perfection that only has the Promise of Blessedness, Unattainable by most of them. And is it not Hard that Poor Souls so very easily diverted from the Way to Heaven , (though they have it shown them ,) should for ever be condemned to such a Hell! Fourthly, *The* more Tremendous Circumstances of the *Heathen* , that never heard of Jesus Christ the Way, Truth and Life , who would be treated with Severity, with Rigour to Astonishment , if, for not Proceeding in a Path which they were never Ac-

quainted of, They should be Damned to Eternal Torments. In *a word*, How can it comport with the Infinite Goodness, Love, Kindness, and Fatherly Bowels, of which Almighty *God* doth make Profession to the world? And who can once think that Tender Mercies, that Compassions that never fail, should suffer *Him* so quietly, without Remorse, without Pity, to behold his Own Offspring Frying in Eternal and Unquenchable Flames!

You see *Sir*, how hard a Task that Person has, and in how large a Field he is to Expatiate, that will Establish Perpetuity in Infernal

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Torments; which was indeed the only thing designed by me at first, but I found my self in Prosecution of that Design, instead of framing only one Discourse, if I would not have that One Defective, Obliged to Digress into several. Wherefore, I resolved to permit my Thoughts the liberty to range into the *common Places* of *Hell*, of *Punishment* in general, of *Humane Imperfection* and the *Evangelical Righteousness*, and of the Admirable *Instances* of Wisdom, Goodness and Justice in Divine Transactions with the *Heathen*, as well as *Jew* and *Christian*; that Assuming this Freedom, I might Display the

the *Syntax*, Harmony, Connexion, Concinnity of the Notions I Employ, and on which I Bottom, with greater Perspicuity and Clearness, than otherwise I could have hoped to Effect it. In all, the thing I Principally Aim at, is to manifest what *plain* and *sober* Reason can do to solve Objections about them.

I call the Whole *Apologie for God*, because the Arguments Alledged, are *Criminations*, Insinuating Want of Goodness, Justice, Wisdom in the great Creator, if *really* there be a Perpetuity in the Torments setled by Him; And no Doubt, but when the Arguments are Accusations, to Dissolve and Satisfie

tisfie Them, is to make an Apology.

Little thought had I to have Engag'd my self on This, or on resembling Subjects, when I was *Invited* to it by a Letter from One from whom I as little expected it; Who Reflecting on an *Essay* lately published concerning Divine Goodness, imagines it Imperfect, for that I do not from the Infinite Divine Benignity, conclude either the Non-Existence of Infernal Torments, or their Finite Duration. As if God cannot be Just, if he be Good.

Such was the Rise of these Discourses, which I Dressed in the Habit of an *Epistle*,

stle, Not to interest therein the Person who Occasion'd it more than Others, but for *Form-sake*, that the Notions I conceiv'd, might enter in more easily upon the Readers Mind; who, if intangled with the same thoughts, the same Scruples it Obviates, may look on *This Letter* as One of Resolution, written to Himself about Them.

As it is, I humbly make a Present of it to You. Not that I Presume to put the Honour of Your Name upon it, with design to get Protection for Defects and Weaknesses therein, that do not Deserve it; But to Proclaim to All the World, that

if

if Truth could need a Patron, I know None more Eminently Qualified to be He, than your self; and None more Worthy of the Zeal and Highest Devotions of

SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,

Bowdon, Aug. 25. 1674.

Richard Burthogge,

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

In the Text, p.33.l.22.r.—שׁ : p.35.l.15.r.κα— : p.39. l.25. r. *And Albeit it* : p.44. l.2.r. δεχοντα : l.13. so r.*and* : p.78.l.23.r. *or laying of them on on those* : p.83.l.10,11. dele ( ) p.110.l.2.ἀξιοργάσατο : p.114.l.8.r.*Good* : p. 124. l.14. *quæ* r. *sua* : p.127.l.13.for τιμὴν αἰώνιον, r. τιμὴς ὅρα : p. 133. l.26.r. *owns* : p.138. l.20.r.*legets* : p.160. l.15.r. *as it in us* : p.182. l.13.dele *and* : p.192. l.19.r. βεβαιον : p.228. l.6. r.*tam* : p.276.l.14.r.*Fable* : p.316.l.7.r. *at Rome* : p.319.l.17. *him* r. *it* : p.325.l.15. ἐστὶ r. ἐστὶ : p.348. l.16.r.*Innovandi* : p.354.l.1.r. μαχαίρωνες : p.358.l.10.r.*Paulinum* : p.365.l.16. r.*Corringius* : p.366.l.2.dele *the* : p.371. for *Greece* r.*Ægypt* : p.383.l.18.r. *is derived* : p.390. l.26.r. *was* : p. 391. l. 6. r. *cited* : p. 392. l. ult. dele *Antient* : p. 394. l. 9. r. Ἀναπολογήτους : p. 398. l.8. r. *Sapours* : p.410. l.20.r. *their premisses* : p. 414. l.10. r. אמירי.

In the Margin p. 266. r. *Gazatus* : p. 275. r. *Pimand.* p. 299. after *infra* add *pag.* 383, 384. p. 307. r. *secundâ* : p. 328. r. 274. p. 347. r. *Ovav.* p. 384. r. *Diction.*

CAUSA DEI,

OR AN

APOLOGY

FOR

GOD.

WHEREIN

The Perpetuity of Infernal Torments is Evinced, and Divine both Goodness and Justice (that notwithstanding) Defended.

The Nature of Punishments in General, and of Infernal ones in Particular Displayed.

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The Divinity of the Gentile, both as to things to be Believed, and things to be Practised, Adumbrated; and the wayes whereby it was Communicated, plainly Discover'd.

Written on occasion of some Objections sent in a Letter to *R. B.*

London, Imprinted for *Lewis Pinchard* Bookseller in *Totnes* in *Devon*, and are to be sold by *F. Tyton* at the Three Daggers in *Fleetstreet*. 1675.

GAUDIA DEI,

OR AN

APOLOGY

FOR

GOD.

WHEREIN

The Perpetuity of Infinite Mercies is Eternal, and Divine both Goodness and Justice (that notwithstanding) Defended.

The Nature of Humilitarian Grace, and of Infernal, and Celestial Dignity Displayed.

The Evangelical Religion Fully Explicated and Solved.

The Divinity of the Gentile Philosophers ought to be Believed, and Shown to be Practised, Admitted, and the Ways whereby it was Communicated, Fully Discover'd.

Without an occasion of some Objections for in a Letter to J. A.

To his much Honoured and Worthy Friend *Richard Burthogge* Doctor of Physick.

Honoured Sir,

I *Lately met with a Discourse of yours: both the Subject and Title of it, as well as the Authors name invited me to a perusal. What you designed in that Essay, I think you have very well performed: But I confess*

I expected more than I found, and I believe such a mind as yours, can both inlarge and improve the subject.

Without doubt 'tis true what you suggest, that it is a Satanical illusion, "That God Rules by "will; that he hath no conside-"ration of his creatures comfort, "but only of his own Glory; that "he made the greatest part of "men to damn them, and tri-"umph in their ruine; and that "he cruelly exacts impossibilities, "and obliges men to come, when "yet he knows they cannot.

But Sir, they are not Atheists, but men of great Devotion, and in the last Age admired for their parts, and piety, that confidently asserted such things as the Christian Doctrine. These are not

only

only the Dogma's *of the* Hobbists, *and* Mahometans, *but of Gentlemen of the* Geneva Twang; *and therefore whatsoever an Atheist may be in his practice, according to these principles, he is speculatively Orthodox and Godly. I suggest this, because in your making the Atheist to personate —you know whom, you make too severe a reflection upon either their Learning or their Religion.*

Since (Sir) you have been pleased so happily to enter upon so good and gracious a subject, might it not be worthy your consideration to give an account How it is consistent with the Divine Goodness to inflict infinite and eternal Punishments for finite Transgressions?

Punishment (according to the Notion we have of it) is either for the Good of the whole, or of the part, *and 'tis instituted* not *to torment the Criminal, but either* to amend *him*, or *the society of which he is a member, that both may enjoy the comforts, and the sweets of it: But what of good in everlasting Punishment is there to either of these? or how doth it agree with the Notion of Infinite Goodness according to your own description?*

Not to urge, that the most that are Christians, lye, and live under such odd circumstances, *that they are very near in impossibility wholly to subdue and suppress the influences of sense, and yet must they be plagued or punisht with unspeakable and eternal tortures?* How

How much more dismal and tremendous doth it look that those People in *America*, *Japan*, *China*, *Lapland*, &c. *that live under an unavoidable ignorance* (*I mean* morally *so*) *that yet these poor creatures for what they cannot help, shall be cast into Everlasting Darkness, and sorrows, and that there are no reserves for their acting for a happiness they have no notice of, or very little, or if they have, yet are ignorant of the proper methods to attain it? How agrees this with Infinite and Eternal Goodness? A return to such an Enquiry in order to a farther explication of Divine Goodness would do a great deal of service to the Religion which we own. Some such thoughts as these have*

disturb'd mine about the receiv'd and common Faith of future punishments; and if ever your inclinations lead you to a second Edition of yours, some Considerations about such an Objection may not I think be impertinent.

I hope I need not beg a Pardon for this trouble from a person that pleads for so much Goodness: but question not but you will candidly entertain and construe this bold offer of

Your real Friend and
Admirer,

W. A.

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CAUSA DEI,

OR AN

APOLOGY

FOR

GOD.

SIR,

ALthough I am not so vain as to flatter my self into a conceit, that either the first or the second Apprehensions of All, or of Most are like to be as partial in my Favour, or Candid, as a Generous and Noble friends:

friends : Yet to obey you, and to acquit my self of some part of what I owe you for your Kindness to my former Discourse, and for your Civility to me, I am at last resolv'd to Expose Another to Mercy, well Assured that whatever Entertainment Ruder hands may give it, It shall receive in Yours, and in those of worthy Persons, none but what is Fair and Equitable. And this is all it desires. Which that you may afford without Repugnance, I must oblige you to consider, that if you do not find in this Essay, no more than in the Former, the Gratification and Delight that Novelty in things is wont to bring with it, you ought not to impute it either as a Fault to the Author, or as a Defect to the Work, but to ascribe it purely to the Fulness and Riches of your own Mind; it being that alone which renders you uncapable of such agreeable Surprize and Pleasure, as not a Few Resent in what appeareth New to them, because indeed there can

can but little seem so to one of your Endowments and Knowledge. But what talk I of things New? For as to my **first Essay**, whosoever shall but give himself the trouble to Remind the Method I imployed therein, will easily Determine I never had design of innovating *new Notions*; seeing if I had, I could not hope to evidence them in the wayes I there propos'd (to do it) either from the *Scriptures*, by which I was to regulate my self in all I said, or from the *Philosophers*. You may believe I only courted Truth, and that I resolved to express my self in *common* Notions, and to common sense, in Reasons that were suitable to Mankind; fully Perswaded, that the things I treated on were of so ample, and so large a Nature, that no Arguments, no Notions of Scholasticks, or of any other private Faction, Party, Sect, or Division of men, would ever Adæquate, and Suit, and Fit them. Notions deduced from common sense,

sense, are only capable of Adjusting things of common Concernment. And if I my self have any regard for these Conceptions, which have had the Fortune to entertain the World with *Variety* of Discourse, 'tis only for their plainness and facility, because I take them generally to be such as every body that attends, will think he had the same before, and that he never thought otherwise: Which if they were not, I should be very much inclined to suspect them False, since I am apt enough to think it to be as true of Truth, as of the God of Truth, that it is not far from any of us, if we will but feel and grope after it. Certainly those Conceptions are not most likely to be truest, which are most elaborate and fartheſt fetcht; but which are easiest and most natural. Truth lyeth not so deep in the Well, as many (with *Democritus*) think, and who thinking so, do often overlook it.

And having made you this Apology

logy for the Plainness of my *first Essay*, I hope I need not add, that in this second you are not to expect Profound, Uncommon, Deep, Elaborate Notions, but Easie, Natural, Sensible, Plain and Obvious Ones, [such as whoever reads, may comprehend] in what I shall rejoyn to your *Letter*. *which*, that my Reply unto it may be the more distinct and orderly, I shall distribute into *three* Parts, and so proportion and adjust my *Answer*; of which

The First *containeth matter of Reflection on Others.*

The Second, *matter of Charge on Me.*

The Third, *matter of Exception, or Argument* against *Divine Goodness.*

Of these in Order.

And first concerning the first *Head*, matter of Reflection on Others, "These are not only Dog-"ma's of the *Hobbists*, and *Maho-"metans*, but of Gentlemen of the "*Geneva* Twang.

And

And here I beg pardon for disowning that knowledge you impose upon me, concerning worthy Persons of the *Geneva Persuasion*; (for I presume, you mean *Geneva Persuasion* by **Geneva Twang**, a term I profess I do as little understand in any other sense, as I believe it not to be *Canonical* or Receiv'd in this.) For I know not any under that Notion so forsaken of their Wits, or their Religion, as in terms to Assert, "God Rules by Will; "that he hath no consideration of "his Creatures comfort, but only "of his own Glory; that he made "the Greatest part of men to Damn "them and triumph in their Ru-"ine, and that he cruelly exacts "Impossibilities, and obliges men to "come, when yet he knows they "cannot.

But, if there are any under that, or other Notions, who affirm and assert such things, (though properly I may not call them *Atheists*) and indeed it were a Contradiction in the

the Adject so to do) yet I think, I shall not be Uncharitable in believing that they that *are none*, have *made many*; since I know not any more effectual way of inclining and disposing men unto Denyal of the Being of God, than to Represent and Paint him out to them, in *Idea's* not agreeable to common Reason, nor Sense. You may sooner make them believe themselves to be no men, than that there is such a God. They that have been constantly told that Contradictions cannot be, and that God himself can never make them be, will very hardly be induced to believe, that God himself is, if the very Notion they are taught of him be a contradiction. And who can reconcile the Roughness of these Expressions of the Absolute and Tyrannical Empire of God, to those other softer ones of his Goodness and Kindness, and Tenderness for men? Certainly, the Will of God by which he doth all things, is not absolute, and meer Will, but

βουλὴ θελήματος, Counsel of Will; and εὐδοκία Good Will, Good Pleasure. And thus all men *should* speak.

True it is, that all *do* not, for some, especially (the) Moderns, in Vindication and assertion of Divine *Dominion* and Soveraignty, have biassed too much to one Extream, using terms sounding not a little harsh in mild and temperate Ears: as others on the contrary, in contemplation and assertion of Divine *Goodness* and Clemency, have also done to the other. The *Reason* of mens running to extreams in this matter, and of their aberration from the mark and scope to which they should direct their thoughts, is, that they look on God *abstractly*, under one or other Attribute, whereas they ought to consider him in all his Attributes together; and all these, in all their several and respective Aspects, as they have a mutual Influence upon, Concernment with, and Respect, Order, and Habitude unto each other. For such an A-

gency

gency on one another, and ſuch a Complication and Concernment have the Attributes in God, that it is as true of them in their Connection in the Godhead, as of the Perſons of the Trinity, that One is in Another, or rather, that they are together in God, ſo as that one receiveth ſome modification (as it were) and ſome reſpect from the other. You may believe of all the other Attributes, in their mutual and reſpective Aſpects, what I ſhall inſtance but in One, I mean **Divine Goodneſs**, which as it is complicated [for Example] with alike **Greatneſs**, ſo it receives a Character therefrom, and muſt be ſuitably deferred to. Thus *David*, there is *mercy with thee that thou mayeſt be Feared*; Mercy, that thou mayeſt be feared, and therefore God is to be feared for his mercy, becauſe he is as Great, as Merciful, and ſo *Moſes, Fearful in Praiſes*; Fearful Objectively and Paſſively; God is to be feared while we praiſe him,

and for this reason, because he is Almighty as well as Beneficent, Dread Majesty as well as Gracious, and consequently, not only the Object of our Love and Praise, but of our Fear and Dread. We ought not too abstractly to consider God under One Attribute, without reflecting on him under others, for we must *rejoyce with trembling*; while we Rejoyce in his Goodness, we must also Tremble at his Greatness. He is Good, and He is Great also.

Concerning the **second head**, *matter of Charge on me.*——"But "Sir they are not Atheists, *&c.*

And so much for the **first** part of your Letter, and in return to the **second**, or as to those Reflections you suggest me to intend, in making the Atheist Personate you tell not who; I utterly disclaim them, and profess with all imaginable clearness and sincerity, that though I know a sort of persons (far enough from being *Atheists*) that do argue against others, in terms somewhat resembling

resembling some of those wherein I dress *mine*, yet I was not guilty of a Design of so much weakness, as in what I said to Reflect on them for that as such. I am free to say of all Reflection in the Present matter, as some are wont to say of far fetch'd Jests, that he alone does make the Reflection, that can understand it to be One. For my part, I abhor Reflections and Hard words, as neither Philosophical, nor Civil, nor Christian. Nor did I introduce the Atheist to personate another, but to speak for himself. But while we are mentioning Reflections, give me leave to ask, if you your self reflected not on Gentlemen of the *Geneva Twang*, while you were yoaking them with the *Hobbists* and with the *Mahumetans*.

Concerning the **third head**; *point of Argument, or Exception against Divine Goodness.*

And having (as I hope) in what I have offer'd, fully vindicated my self from all that sinister Interpre-

tation you Insinuate me subject to, I am now according to the Order you observe in your Letter, oblig'd in the **Third** place to **vindicate Divine Goodness**, from those *Exceptions* that do seem to lye against it, in relation to Eternal Punishment.

Which that I may do the more Distinctly, and to your full contentment, I will Reduce the Arguments you Urge about it, to **four Heads.**

The First.

The seeming improportion of Infinite and Eternal Punishments to Finite Transgressions.

The Second.

The Incongruity of Perpetuity in Punishment unto the Ends of Punishment.

The Third.

The Odd and Unaccountable circumstances of most Christians.

The

The Fourth.

The more Tremendous Ones of Heathens.

Of these in order, and first to the first *Argument, the seeming improportion of Infinite and Eternal Punishment to Finite Transgressions.*

———"Give an account (you "say) how it is consistent with "Divine Goodness to inflict Infinite "and Eternal Punishments for Fi-"nite Transgressions.

And here, you will give me leave to Awaken in your thoughts an Observation, which no question you have made your self long ago, that Opinions and other Motions of our Minds, are as often the Result of Constitution and Complexion, as of Reason and Judgement. For That Consideration in a person of a tender, sensible and compassionate Temper (such as your own) is sufficient to account to any that Reflects upon it, for the Difficulty he may find his Thoughts to make, to conceive it consistent with Divine Goodness, That Infi-

nite and Eternal Punishments should be inflicted on the sinner, but for Temporal and Finite Transgressions.

But for your fuller satisfaction in the present Scruple, and an Impregnable and clear Assertion of **Divine Goodness**, as well as **Justice** (which also is concerned) from all the Ignominious Apprehensions under which they seem to lye in this Matter, I shall here particularly Evidence,

First, *That it hath pleased God to order and appoint for sin, Infinite, or Everlasting Punishments and Torments, to be inflicted Hereafter.*

Secondly, *That there is not any Inequality or Improportion between the Punishment ordained, and the Sin, but a great Equality and Proportion.*

Thirdly, *That it is a great Instance of Divine Benignity and Goodness to ordain Eternal Punishments, and to threaten men with them, as a suitable means in order to their Reformation in the present world,*

world, and to their salvation in the future.

Fourthly, *That it being Goodness to Ordain the Punishment, and to threaten men with it, in order to the compassing those Good and Graciour Ends upon them, It is no Want of Goodness; no more than 'tis Injustice, to Inflict it on the Obstinate and Irreclaimable, on whom these Good Designs are lost and defeated.*

Of these in Order.

And **First**, *That it hath pleased God to order and appoint for sin not only Temporal, and Momentany, but Infinite and Eternal Punishments,* and that he threatens men with *them*, is a great Truth; such an One as is so fully setled in the Holy Scriptures, that I Admire how any who Pretend to read these, can make any Question of it. For what expression can be more significant and full, than that of *John?* that the Blessed Jesus, when he once hath gathered all his Wheat into his Granary, *will burn up the chaffe*

with Unquenchable Fire; Alluding in it (likely) unto that of *Isaiah*, their *Worm shall not dye, neither shall their Fire be quench'd.* Nor is that of *Jesus Christ* himself, in the Form of the Sentence (hereafter in the day of Judgement) to be pronounced on the Wicked, less Pregnant, *Depart from me ye Cursed into Everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* And as full as either, is this of our great *Apostle*, that the Lord Jesus shall hereafter be *Revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming Fire, taking* Vengeance *on them who know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who* (saith he) *shall be punished with* Everlasting Destruction, *from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.* **Everlasting** Destruction, ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον. the same word to shew the Everlastingness of that Destruction, as to shew the Everlastingness of God himself: It is here ὀλεθρῳ αἰωνίῳ, Everlasting De-

Destruction, and otherwhere, it is θεὸς αἰώνιος, the Everlasting God. I know αἰώνιος sometimes used to signifie a Duration that is not Everlasting; but you see it also used to signifie One that is: And the *Subject Matter* must determine the Sense.

And who can once Question the Perpetuity and Everlastingness of Future Punishments, that seriously considers the Greatness and Infinity of the **Wrath** that shall inflict them? They are to be the Issues of the Utmost Wrath of God, and therefore are not simply called Wrath, but **Wrath in the Day of Wrath**; Men treasuring up unto themselves infernal Torments, being Affirmed in the Sacred Writings, to *treasure up wrath unto themselves against the Day of wrath.*

And Judge how great a Wrath that is, since all Resentments in the heart of God proportion and adjust him? Without Question, whatever is in God, is in him according to the Vastness and Capacity of God; so

so that seeing God is absolutely Infinite in Being, and also is Immutable and Unchangeable, Wrath and Hatred, as well as Love and Good Will, as they exist in him, are also so. *The Wrath of the King is as the Roaring of a Lion*; what then is the Wrath of the *King of Kings!*

It is true, the Anger of Almighty God is in the present Dispensation trusted in the hands of Jesus Christ, [*All Judgement is committed to the Son*] and therefore for the present, since He, who hath the letting out of Wrath, is partaker of the Flesh and Blood of the Brethren, and so of kin to us, no wonder if it be let out according to Humane Measures, and with some consideration, and respect for man; which yet hereafter in the World to come, when things shall be no longer in a Mediators hands, but God himself who is inexorable, and inflexible but in his Son, shall immediately be All in All, and do All in All, is not to be presumed or hoped. So that

though

though Divine Wrath break not out on sinners altogether in this World, yet in another it will. There is a **Day of Wrath**, and of the Revelation of the Righteous Judgement of God.

Here perhaps it may *be offer'd*, that Jesus Christ is so invested in the Government of things, that he has not only the managery of them before the day of Judgement, but is also to conclude the *Scene* in it, and consequently that the *Sentence* then to be pronounced, since it is to be so by a man, *will be past on men with some allay* and abatement. But it must be minded, that though the Son of man shall Judge the World, yet that he shall come to do so ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, in the **Glory of his Father**, or in Divine Majesty; as who would say, that when he Judges, He will lay aside those Humane considerations and Respects he had before, and as he appeared more like man in all Precedent Transactions, so that He

He will shew himself like God in this last. Beside, He will immediately resign the Government, assoon as he hath passed sentence; and (as I noted before) then *God shall be All in All*, so no Mutation, no Alteration (after that) of States or Things.

I confess, Philosophy as clear and quick-sighted as she was in other Articles of Christian Doctrine, was but obscure and dimm in This. For though she saw a day of Judgement, and Rewards and Punishments in the Future Life, for whatever should be done in the Present, as is evident not only in *Plato*, both in the Story of *Erus* in his *Rep.* and in that fabulous tradition of which in *Gorgias* he maketh *Socrates* Relater; but also in *Plutarch*, in his Consolation to *Apollonius*, and in his *Golden Treatise* of Divine deferring of Punishment. So in *Seneca*, in *Iamblicus*, and in many other of the grave and antient Philosophers.

Yet for want of Understanding of the Interest that Jesus Christ hath in Things *Now*, and by consequence, unhappily mistaking in taking measure of the Distribution of Rewards and Punishments hereafter, by what is at present; She saw not their *Eternity* and Infinite duration. For whoever readeth *Plato* in his Book of Laws, cannot doubt of his Opinion in the matter; nor is *Plutarch* less plain, who in the Fable of *Thespesius of Soles*, expressly tells us, that Infernal Punishments are Purgatory and Medicinal, as *Ephesius* also thought the Καθαρσιον or Infernal Fire to be. And withal, that there is a certain Term set for their Duration and Continuance, which expires, when the soul is fully cleansed, purged and Refined by them, from all Infection of Matter, and all its Filth. Finis *autem* (saith he) *&* terminus *tormentorum ac purgationis existit, quum concreta exempta est labes, animaq; splendida & ab omnibus maculis & labe reddit*

Plutar. de iis q. tar. à Num. corrip.

Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 5.

Plu. de iis qui tard. à Num. cor.

ditur

ditur pura. This was *Plutarch's* Opinion of Infernal Torments, and *Seneca* can own no other, as will appear hereafter, when we shall shew his notion of Punishment.

Virgil. apud Lactant. Instit. l. 7. c. 22. Yes, and if we will believe *Virgil* in the Eloquent *Lactantius*, it was in his time a General Tradition (for he but Relates what he himself had heard, *sit mihi fas audita loqui*,) That the Damned Spirits, after they have suffered in the Infernal Gulf *a thousand years*, the Punishments inflicted on them (for their sins) are at the expiration of the said Term, to be sent to *Lethe*, there to take a Cup of Oblivion or Forgetfulness. And having drunk there their Fill, Benummed with a Mortal Sopor, and consequently Irrecoverably losing and forgetting All they did, or suffer'd before, are then *Restored* to a new Condition, and Re-admitted into Heaven, where they live again in all Felicity and Happiness, till not contented with it, but Longing to make another Tryal of their Fortunes

tunes here below on this Terrestrial Stage, they be accordingly disposed into Proper Vehicles, and (so) Reappear in Our World to expiate that Folly and Weakness of leaving the Other. This is the **Round.** A *Revolution* and *Hypothesis* to which the *Origenian* is so like, that I believe it a *Daughter*; and so believed St. *Augustine*, who mentions and confutes *it* as *Origen's*. Again, who seeth not in this (Hypothesis) That *Lethe*, that Fiction of the *Poets*, Answers to the **State of Silente**, which some Learned men improve, and stand upon so much in Their's! I lay it down as certain, That *Lethe* is the *State of Silence*. But let *Maro* speak himself.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 11. c. 23.

Has omnes ubi mille *rotam volvêre per annos,*
Lethæum *ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno:*
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant:
Rursus & incipiant in corpore velle reverti.

Again,

Again,

O pater anne aliquas ad cœlum hinc
ire putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumq; ad tarda
reverti
Corpora: quæ lucis miseris tam dira
cupido ?

This was the *Old Hypothesis*; so Dark were former Ages : Yes so dark were former Ages in the Point of Death Eternal, or of the Perpetuity of the Punishments in the other World, that before Christ, they seemed scarce at all to Understand it. This (I take it) is the meaning of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, when in the first Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*, he saith, *the wrath of God is Revealed from Heaven*; namely, that the *Light of Nature*, by which I understand the Catholick Tradition of the World, as well as common Reason, did not manifest the Perpetuity of infernal Torments,

Torments, but that before the Preaching of the Gospel, which is a Revelation of the Mind of God from Heaven, men as little apprehended the Wrath of God for sin, in the Duration and Eternity thereof, as they did the Righteousness of God, for Salvation from it. It is the Gospel bringeth both Eternal Death, and Eternal Life to Light. This Knowledge is an Effect of the Light of Revelation, and not of the Light of Nature. The Wrath of God, as well as the Righteousness of God, is *reveal'd* from Heaven. *Oppositorum eadem est scientia.*

But yet as clear a Revelation as there is Now from Heaven in the Gospel, of Eternal Wrath on Sinners, as the Philosophers before ignor'd it, so there are many *Christians* since, not only *Origen* and those who follow him, but also others, who make a scruple to admit it: concerning whom and their *Dogmata*, together with the Censure of the Church on *Origen* for this Conceit,

Aug. de Civ. dei, l. 21. c. 17. you have the Excellent St. *Augustine* in a Chapter of his Treatise of the City of God, designedly discoursing in these terms. "Now I must have "a Gentle disputation with certain "tender hearts of *our own* Religion, "who think that God, who hath "justly doomed the Damned to Hell "fire, will *after a certain space*, "which his Goodness shall think fit "for the merit of each mans guilt, "deliver them from that torment. "And of this Opinion was *Origen* "in far more pittiful manner, for "He held that the *Devils* them-"selves after a set time expired, "should be loosed from their tor-"ments, and become bright Angels "in Heaven, as they were before; "but this and other of his Opini-"ons, chiefly that **Rotation**, and "Circum-volution of misery and "bliss, which he held, that all "mankind should run in, gave "the Church cause to pronounce him "**Anathema**, seeing he had lost, *&c.* But to Return.

Thus

Thus Infinite Eternal Punishments are (you see) ordain'd for Sinners. But of the *Nature* of them, and *where* they are Inflicted, as I cannot hold my self obliged to discourse here at large, so I shall not; Only thus much I will say, that Hell, it noteth not so much a Place, as a *State*; and yet in regard that that State must needs be in some Place, I will offer somewhat, first, as to the **Place**, and then, as to the **State**, or (if you please) the Kind and Nature of the Torments of Hell.

For the **Place**: The *old Theologists* among the Heathen (if we may believe *Macrobius*) before Philosophy was Extant, esteemed the *Body* Hell, and that the Soul descended into Hell, when first it came into the Body: *Antequam studium philosophiæ* (saith he) *circa naturæ inquisitionem ad tantum vigoris adolesceret, qui per diversas gentes autores in constituendis sacris ceremoniarum fuerunt, aliud esse inferos negaverunt, quàm ipsa* corpora, *quibus*

Macrob. in Somn. Scip. c. 10.

bus inclusæ animæ, carcerem *fœdum tenebris*, *horridum sordibus & cruore patiuntur.*

And *Basilides* that conceited Heretick, as also the *Marcionists* before him, held the same Opinion, that Souls that had committed sin in another Life, did come to satisfie and suffer for it in this; Than which (as a *Father* tells us) nothing could be said with more Extravagance and Folly. *Quæ* ignorantia *effecit, ut quosdam dicere non puderet, idcirco nos esse natos, ut scelerum pœnas lueremus, quo quid delirius dici possit, non invenio. Ubi enim, vel quæ scelera potuimus admittere, qui omnino non* fuimus? *Nisi forte credemus inepto illi seni, qui se in priori vita* Euphorbum *fuisse mentitus est.*

Lactant. de falsa sap. c. 18.

But some of the *Platonists* (for, as the lately mentioned *Macrobius* informs us, there were of three Opinions concerning it among them) affirmed that the Place of Hell was all that *space between the Moon*, or (as they Lov'd to speak) the *Ethe-*

real

real Earth and This; the Description whereof, as I receiv'd it from the Author, because it may afford an Entertainment to the Curious and Inquisitive, I will represent at large out of Him. *Inferos autem* Platonici *non in corporibus esse, id est, non à corporibus incipere, dixerunt, sed certam mundi ipsius partem Ditis sedem, id est, Inferos vocaverunt. De loci vero ipsius finibus inter se dissona publicarunt, & in* tres sectas *divisa sententia est. Alii enim mundum in duo diviserunt, quorum alterum* facit, *alterum* patitur. *Et illud facere dixerunt, quod cum sit immutabile, alteri causam & necessitatem permutationis imponit: Hoc pati, quod per mutationes variatur. Et immutabilem quidem mundi partem à Sphæra quæ aplanes dicitur,* usq; *ad globi lunaris exordium. Mutabilem vero à luna ad terras* usq; *dixerunt. Et vivere animas dum in immutabili parte consistunt, mori autem cum ad partem ceciderint permutationis capacem.*

Macrob. in Somn. Scip. c. 11.

κάλλος χρῶνται· ἢ γὰρ βιαίως, ἢ μαχόμενοι, ἢ τῶν ἡδέων ἡττώμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρᾶξιν.

Plat. in Protag.

But I find a more express and pertinent one in his *Protagoras*.

Ἀνάγκη γὰρ καλῶς τὸν ἀνδρεῖον τοῦ τόνου τοῦ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ τότε ἔστιν ἐν ἀλήθειαν, ἵνα μὴ δύνωμαι ἀναίσχυντος τυγχάνειν. ἢ ἡ μὴ λόγῳ ἀναγκαῖον καλῶς ἔχει τῶν περιπαλαιόντων ἔστιν ἀληθινῶν τυγχάνειν (ἢ γὰρ ἂν τόλμα, πονηρὸν ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ) ἀλλὰ τῶν μάλιστα χρῆσις, ἵνα μὴ εἴδοι ἀληθεῖς μόνον εἶναι, μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἴδοι καλόν. καὶ τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἔχοντα, δραχμῶν πωλεῖν τὴν ἀρετήν. ἀποτελεῖν γὰρ ἔστιν καλῶς.

Nor is this the only Pertinent Citation to be had in *Seneca*, there are many more of like Import, of which yet there is but One that for its Fulness and Conformity of sense to yours, I shall at present note; 'tis in his first Book of Clemency, wherein there is the following Paragraph. *Transeamus* (saith he)

Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

——ad

——*ad alienas injurias: in quibus vindicandis hæc tria lex sancta est, quæ princeps quoque sequi debet: aut ut eum quem punit,* emendet, *aut ut pœna ejus cæteros meliores* reddat; *aut ut sublatis malis* securiores cæteri vivant.

But to come nearer home, I find a Learned man, and he One that though he were not a Profest Divine, yet in Divinity has merited in many things as much as most that are, I mean *Grotius*, who owns the same Notion of Punishment with that which you Propose as yours. For he saith, *Jus puniendi in recture*, &c. *non est aut jus absoluti* Dominii, *aut Jus* Crediti. *Probatur hoc primo ex fine, qui optime solet distinguere facultates. Nam Jus absoluti* dominii *ut & jus* Crediti *comparatum est* ejus gratiâ, *qui id jus habet: at jus puniendi,* non punientis causa *existit, sed causâ* communitatis *alicujus.* Pœna *enim omnis Propositum habet* Bonum commune, *ordinis nimirum conservati-*

Grot. de Satisf. Christ. c. 2.

onem & exemplum: ita quidem ut rationem expetibilis, non habeat, nisi ab hoc fine, *cum jus Dominii & Crediti per se sunt expetibilia. Hic sensu Deus ipse Dicit* se poena eorum qui puniuntur non delectari.

And I will add to *Grotius* his *Testimony*, for the Resemblance and Conformity it hath therewith, *that* of a Worthy Person of our own, who also tells us (as the Author last mentioned) *That the Obligation to Punishment arises from the* Injury the Publick sustains by the Impunity of Crimes, *of which Magistrates are to take care, for the Reason of Punishment is not because a Law is broken, but because the breach of the Law tends to dissolve the* Community *by Infringing of Laws, and the honour of those who are to take care of them; For if we consider it, the* measure of Punishment *is in a well ordered State taken from the Influence which crimes have upon* the peace and interest of the Community, *therefore, Pride, Avarice, Malice,*

Dr. Stil. Discourse concerning the Sufferings of Christ, c. 1. sect. 4.

Malice, are not Punish'd by Humane Laws as severely, as Theft, *&c.— So that the common note talked of* Fiat Justitia & pereat mundus, *is a piece of* Pedantry, *rather than true wisdom*————And that *hence it appears in Humane Laws*, *the* Reason *of Punishment is not that such an Action is done*, *but because the Impunity in doing it may have a bad influence on* the Publick *interest*, *but* in debts *the right of Restitution depends upon the Injury received by a Particular Person*, *who looks at no more than the Reparation of his loss by it.*

I make no question but whatever Perswasion you may possibly have had before, you have this now, that I will *do you all the right* imaginable in the Argument, seeing I acknowledge (that) the Notion that is its Basis and Foundation, hath such Authority to countenance and favour it: *which that I may*, I shall reduce the Reason which you urge, to Form, and so display it in its Utmost Evidence

dence and Force, and then joyn Issue upon it. And in *Form* it runs thus, *All Punishment which is inflicted justly, is inflicted either for the Good of the whole, or of the part. But Everlasting Punishment as such, is neither inflicted for the Good of the whole, nor for the God of the Part. Therefore Everlasting Punishment as such is not inflicted justly*, and consequently, *not at all.* For Everlasting Punishment is none, if not Just.

Or thus,

All Just and Righteous Punishment is inflicted, not to torment, but to amend the Party Punished, or the Society whereof he is a member, that both may enjoy the sweets. But Infernal Everlasting Punishments are not, cannot be inflicted to amend the Punished, or the Society, but only to Torment the Offendor. Therefore, &c.

This is your Argument in Form, wherein I take it to be so conclusive, so cogent against Mr. *Hobbs* and

and men of his Perſwaſion, that I ſee not how on his Principle the force thereof is avoidable. The Anſwer he vouchſafeth it, is utterly uncapable of being applyed, Neither of the Propoſitions in the mentioned Syllogiſm, are in the leaſt conſidered. A Truth you will aſſoon acknowledge as you ſhall have read what he ſayes. Concerning *Re-* "*venge*, ſaith he, which by the "Law of Nature ought not to aim (as I have ſaid *c.* 3. *ſect.* 10.) at "preſent delight, but *future Profit*, "there is ſome difficulty made by "ſuch as object the continuance of "Puniſhment after the *Day of Judge-* "*ment*, when there ſhall be no "place neither for amendment, nor "for example. This *Objection* had "been of ſome force, if ſuch Pu-"niſhment had been *ordained* after "all ſins were paſt, but conſidering "the Puniſhment was *inſtituted be-* "*fore the ſin*, it ſerveth to the be-"nefit of mankind, becauſe it keep-"eth men in Peaceable and Vertu-"ous

Hobbs de corp. poliz. part. 1. ch. 5. ſect. 11.

« ous Conversation by the terror, « and therefore such Revenge was « directed to the *Future* only.

Who seeth not how unapplyable to either Proposition in the mention'd Argument this Answer is? besides the great Harshness, that Revenge should not regard the Past, but the Future; and as great a mistake [or *Ignoratio Elenchi*] as if the thing in question were the *Instituting* and Ordaining of Eternal Punishment, whereas indeed it is the *Inflicting*, between which there is no little Difference; since if the Menacing and Threatning of Revenge respects the Future, yet the Execution and Performance of that Revenge, doth in common sense regard the Past.

Wherefore seeing Mr. *Hobbs*'s Answer will not satisfie a thinking man, I must Essay to give the argument another, wherein though I might content my self simply to deny the *Major*, namely, that All Punishment which is inflicted justly, is

is inflicted either for the Good and Reformation of the Party Punished, or for Example to Others: Yet considering of how great advantage it may prove, not only to detect a false Notion of Punishment, but instead thereof to Settle and Establish a true One, I shall in order thereunto expatiate in my Answer. And there are *four* things that I will do in it.

First, *I will consider Punishment in general, as Abstracting from Divine and Humane, and so from common Notions, endeavour to explain the Nature of it, and the Ends, where I will shew it to be Vindictive.*

Secondly, *I will shew, that the Notion of Revenge is not incompetent to God, but that He is a Revenger.*

Thirdly, *I will shew, that all Infernal Punishments are Vindictive, or that they are Revenges.*

Fourthly, *I will answer those Objections that either Mr.* Hobbs's *Principles, or other mens suggest against*

against what I say concerning Eternal Punishment, and the Person that God sustains in Punishing.

To the **First.** And what is Punishment in the common sense and Notion which all the World has of it, but *Infliction of some Evil* [of Pain] *on an offender for some Past offence?* Or as others judge it fitter to express it, *An Infliction of a Natural for a Moral Evil. Malum Pœnæ propter malum Culpæ, Malum Passionis propter malum Actionis,* Evil of Suffering for evil Doing. Indeed the Notion strictly taken, immediately agreeth but to Corporal Punishment, as it is distinguisht from Pecuniary, That being called *Pœna* properly, this *Mulcta*; But yet it Secondly agrees to Mulcts also; For these, though in Propriety of Language they be not called Pains, are yet called *Penalties*; to signifie they are not Punishments, but in that Respect wherein as Evils, they do Afflict and Pain.

Grot. de Jure Bell. l. 2. c. 20.

This

This then is the true and proper *Nation*, and the most agreeable to Holy Scripture, of Punishment as it abstracteth from Divine and Humane, and *it* importeth in it somewhat as the *matter*, somewhat as the *form*. For the **Matter**, it importeth Pain; for the term Pain in *English*, is deriv'd from *Pœna*, the word for Punishment in *Latine*; and indeed what ever is inflicted could not be a Punishment unto the Party, if it did not some way Pain him. For the **Form**, it importeth a Relation to committed sin, in recompence of which, and as a thing deserved, the Pain or Evil is inflicted; for Pain inflicted without Relation unto some Offence and Transgression, may indeed be called an *Affliction*, but to make that Pain a *Punishment*, it must regard some Injury, some wrong done, for expiating which it is inflicted. Thus Punishment it is *Retributive*, and that it is so, the very Terms that signifie it in the *Greek*, do also manifestly

nifestly show; in which Language it is called ἀντιμαγμα, ἀντοίκοιν, ἀμοιβή, all which imply a Retribution, and so the Learned *Selden* understood it, who sayes, *Ex ratione & essentiâ Pœnæ proprie dictæ est ut pro peccato seu culpa aliqua impendatur*, &c. *Omnigenâ enim est partim* Retributiva, *&c.*

Selden. de jur. nat. & gent. l. 1. c. 4.

In this Notion Punishment is really *Revenge*, and indeed in general is styled Τιμωρία or Revenge by *Plato* in *Gorgias*, *Vindicta* by *A. Gellius*, and *Ulpian* that great Lawyer, defineth it *Vindicta noxæ*, A Vindication of received wrong. For what other is Revenge, than what I have described Punishment, a *Retribution of Evil*, a rendring Evil back again for evil received, or a making him to suffer evil, that hath first done it? Only, it looks in common Usage, as if in some formalities they differ'd, and that to make Revenge Punishment, there were requir'd a *Sanction* of it by Law, as if to render Evil, where there is no

Vid. Cic. de Invent. l. 2.

no Law to countenance and favour it, were bare Revenge, but where there is, it were Punishment. This I say, it seems, for whether any such Distinction be indeed to be allowed or not, I make a great Question, For as much as all Revenges *antiently* were called Punishments Genuine and Proper. So *Pausanias*,— ἐξοιδεν ἡ ἐπιλεγον, ὃν τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνόμιζον ποινάς. *The Ancients were wont to call* Revenges Punishments. *Pausan. in Laconic.*

Nor is *Castigation* or Chastisement (wharever *Scaliger* and others think) to be excepted; for as Punishment, it is Retributive, it looketh *backward*, and is inflicted in the name of merit for some transgression past, and consequently is *Revenge*; though as it looketh *forward* to the Future, and is intended to Reform the Party, and to prevent his doing so again, it is but a *Remedy*, or Medicine. I say it again, that Castigation in the *Prospect* of it, is not Punishment; and in the *Retrospect*

Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 1. c. 4.

it is Revenge; and so saith *Selden* in the place before quoted, *Omnigena enim est partim saltem* Retributiva, *tametsi simul etiam sucit* medicinalis, *ut in Scholis loquuntur, seu emendationi sive ipsius peccantis sive aliorum adhibita. Neque sane Platonicum illud* neminem Prudentem Punire quia Peccatum est, sed ne peccetur, verum *satis esse potest, nisi intelligas*, &c.

And from what I have already offer'd it doth evidently *follow*,

First, *That it is not warily expressed by you, that Punishment is not inflicted to Torment the Criminal*, you might as well have said, that Punishment is not inflicted to be Punishment; it is Essential unto Punishment to be *Afflictive*, for otherwise it could not be the issue and effect of Wrath or *Anger*, which yet I shall evince it presently to be. To vex and grieve the offender is the proper end of Anger, and its proper design, and it is in this, as *Aristotle* tells us, that it dis-

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 5.

fers

sers from *Hatred* and Malice. I [illegible]

And this brings me to the Second Consectary, *That all Punishment as inflicted on transgressors for Offences Past, is an issue and effect of Anger*, for what else is Anger but as *Aristotle* hath defin'd it, and as our own Experience sensibly evinces it, Ὀρεξις τιμωρίας, an *Appetition or Desire of Revenge*, and consequently, Punishment is in satisfaction and contentment to Anger. Hence the Scripture Paraphrases Punishment, *by the letting out of Wrath or Anger*.

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 2.

I know the famous *Scaliger* defineth Anger otherwise, that it is not *Appetitus Ultionis*, but *Depulsionis*, not a Desire of Revenging, but averting Evil. A Notion not a little opposite to common sense, and to be admired how possibly it could be his, who was so wrathful and Vindictive a Man, and who from his own experience, was as capable as ever any was of knowing better.

Scal. Exerc. 313.

But I take the Answer to him to be very Pertinent, which *Cardan*, a Scholar as Substantial and as Real, and every way as great as himself, has given long ago on this occasion, *Verum locum* (saith he) *& occasionem invenit, quibus suas* ineptias *diffunderet. Utinam vera essent quæ definit: sæpe enim talia quærere soleo, quæ* non *invenio apud aliquem. Sed absit ut ab illo accipiam, qui nec ab aliquo* veterum significata hæc accipit, *nec ostendit* quod ita sit: *sed vult quæ simplici narrationi*, *ut* dictatori, *atque oraculo cuipiam*, &c.———

Cardan. Actio. 1. contra calum.

Again, the Sentinent of *Seneca* that Noble Stoick, which also *Grotius* owns as his, That Justice is not *Ira*, but *Ratio*, that Justice is Reason, and not Anger, is alledged. As if it were impossible that Justice should be Reason, if it were Anger. A Notion worthy only of Persons who believe the Affections to be *Intrinsecally evil*, or who understand them in their Irrational

excesses

excesses only, as *Seneca* did when he talked so; and not of those that can believe *that* they be natural; *that* they are ascribed to God; *that* under Regulations and within their Bounds, they are not Evils, but Perfections; *we may be Angry and not sin.* For my part, I am with those Philosophers of whom I read in *Plutarch*, who think that there is Reason in Passion; Once *Animal* in man is *Rationale*; Humane Passions, Regulated and Conducted by the Mind, are no Irrational Extravagancies, or Emotions Opposite to Humane Reason, but *Vertues* that partake it, and in themselves Accomplishments that Integrate the Humane Nature; without which it would be Lame, Imperfect, Defective.

Vid. Arist. de Mor. l. 4. c. 11.

Plutar. de Proc. Anim. in Tim.

Vid. Lactan. de ira Dei, c. 17. & 21, &c.

In a word, *Vindictive Justice*, as Justice; it is Reason; as Vindictive, it is Anger; and though it be not that Anger which is excessive and extravagant, a thing so far from being governed by Reason, and participating of it, that 'tis inconsistent

with it, and is a Perturbation that transports a man beyond all Bounds. Yet *Anger* it is; as Anger is that Rational Inclination that a Person hath to vindicate himself, for those Indignities and those Affronts that are done him. In this sense all Punitive Justice is Anger, and in this sense also 'tis Reason, so that 'tis not true to say, that Justice is Reason and not Anger, For Punitive Justice is both, it is Reason and Anger, or Reasonable Anger. In fine, I oppose to *Seneca's* Authority, that of *Plato* and of *Aristotle*.

Plat. 11. de rep.
Arist. 3. Eth. Nic. c. 8. quod Lipsium. Com in Sen. l. 1. de Ira.

So much in general for the Nature of Punishment. Now touching the Ends of *Punishment*, and that *Division* which is made thereof in reference to them, I say, that seeing there are several *Parties* in every Punishment that is Inflicted, of which the One is *Agent*, He that Punisheth; the Other *Patient*; he that is Punished; and then the *circumstants* and standers by. The Punishment may bear Relation to

them all; and in conformity to those Relations, as it is expressed by several *Titles*, so it also has as many several *Ends* and Designs.

For **First**, *In relation to the Agent, or to him* that doth Inflict, in which respect they call it Τιμωρία or Revenge, it is design'd in *satisfaction of his Anger*, to assert and free him from contempt offer'd, and so to make Reparation to, his lost, or injur'd honour. Hence Τιμωρία *quasi* τιμὴν ἀφαίρεσις, or as *A. Gellius*, *eiusque id vocabulum à conservatione honoris factum putant.* Noct. Att. l. 6 c. 14.

That Reparation of lost and injur'd Honour is intended in Revenge, or Punishment, is Unquestionable, in as much as Revenge, which I have defined Retribution of evil, is not only expressed in common language, by *I will be quits with him*, I will meet with him, I will be even with him, in respect of which it is called Ἀντιποίνη (i. e.) *Retaliation*; but 'tis also expressed, by *I will make him know himself*, I will make

him know *whom* he hath to do with, before I have done with him; and this is *Reparation* of Assaulted Honor. Hence it is that Vindiction, which originally and at first did signifie Revenge, was afterward imployed to signifie Assertion or Defence; because the true Design of Revenge is to assert and free the taker of it from that *contempt*, and that neglect which was shewn him.

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 2.

And truly, there is nothing *sweeter than Revenge*, *as it atchieveth this End*; it carries in it so much satisfaction and gratification, something so agreeable and so delightful, that common sense as well as *Aristotle* tells us, ἡδὺ τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι καὶ Revenge is sweet. No wonder therefore that it is so Natural to seek Revenge, since it is so sweet; there is nothing more Delightful than to *Overcome* an enemy, and to *Regain* lost Honour; a Delight so Pure, so Abstract, that tis not Unworthy of Almighty God himself, who is

Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 11. & l. 2. c. 2.

al-

affirmed to Assume it. He *rejoyceth over his Adversaries.*

'Tis in relation unto this *end*, that *Anger* cannot satisfie it self, as *Malice* does, that evil be inflicted upon him that hath provoked it; *It requireth further that he be sensible* of that Evil, and who inflicted it; for if he be not, it cannot compass this its End thereby; It *removeth* not contempt; it maketh not the enemy *to know himself*, no nor to know *him* neither with whom he hath to do.

In fine, *This end is so inseparable from Punishment*, that whosoever does inflict this, must needs propose it; and if he do not actually propose it, he is in Reason to be interpreted to do so virtually, in respect of the Person he sustains, which is of one so impaired, so injured in his Honor by some contempt shewn him, that he cannot choose but vindicate it. This is the proper end of Punishment as Punishment, and in respect of this, Punishment is meer

Pu-

nishment. Hence God when he threatens to Revenge and Punish, words it, *I will make them know that I am the Lord*, &c.

So much for Punishment *as it respects the party that inflicts it*; but *as it respects the Party punished*, so it is called [illegible] or Castigation, and is intended for his *Good*, and Amendment. For Instance, a Father so corrects his Child, a Master his Servant, not meerly by way of Vindication, for that he hath been bad, but by way of Reformation, that he may be made better. *Folly is bound up in the Heart of a Child, and the* Rod of Correction *must fetch it out*. Thus Punishment is *Physick*.

But if we consider Punishment in *Reference to the standers by or Assistants*, so it is called [illegible] or Example, a word used also in the Scripture, *Joseph* was *not willing to make Mary* a [Publick] *Example* [παραδειγματισαι] and *those things are written for our* examples

amples [παραδειγματα] and *is Designed to deterr* and fright others from committing like transgressions; and thus also Punishment is *Physick*.

And so *much for the* First Particular, to explicate the Nature and the Ends of Punishment, wherein I have evinced it (as such) to be *Vindictive*; I now proceed to the Second, *which is to shew*, that *Punishment in this notion of Vindictive, is not incompetent to God*, but that as he punishes, so he is an *Avenger*; and that the Punishments which he inflicts, are not only Castigations and Examples, but Revenges.

And there is nothing more perspicuous than this Truth; for First, *Therefore he Assumeth Anger, Wrath* and Indignation to himself, nay, Jealousie, to shew he minds his Glory; *that* he will not bear contempt; *that* it is no good despising of him; *that* if he be despised, as he wanteth not the Power, so he will not want the Will to avenge for it.

it. The thought that God will avenge, it striketh men with fear, and the *fear of God is the Beginning of wisdom*; they that fear him cannot slight him. So *Aristotle*, Ἐυλάβειαν δὲ οὐ καταφρονοῦσι, *He that fears cannot slight or contemn.*

Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 2.

Again, *He hath ingrafted a Vindictive Principle into* every thing that hath sense; there is not a Worm but has it, and he that hath ingrafted Revenge, shall not he Revenge? for if he that Planted the ear, must needs hear, and he that made the eye, must needs see; and he that gave a heart to man, must needs understand; then surely he that hath implanted in every living thing a Principle of Revenge, in order to its own defence and conservation, must needs be one himself that will take it.

Thirdly, And it being legible and manifest in Nature, no wonder if *the very Heathens saw it*; For besides the *Adrastia* and *Nemesis* of the Poets, that Sanctuary and Asylum (that) they have made for injur'd vertue, I find

Vid. Era. Adag. tit. Ultio. Chrisor. de Irag. Dior. f. 307, 308, &c.

I find as much in *Livy*, *ad Deos Vindices intoleranda superbia confugiam.* So *Seneca*, *Sunt Dii immortales lenti quidem sed certi* Vindices *generis humani*, &c. And there is a plain and full assertion of it in the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, of which the first (we have) is, *Ad Divos adeunto caste, Pietatem adhibento, Opes amovento, Lift up Pure hands to God; Exercise Piety; Use no costly and expensive Ceremonies. Qui secus faxit, Deus ipse* Vindex *erit. He that doth otherwise, God will take* Vengeance *upon him.* It is *Deus erit* Vindex, not *erit* Judex, *Cicero's* Observation, it is not that God will *Judge*, but that he will *Avenge*.

Cic. de leg. l. 2.
Vid. Arist. de mun. ad fin.

Fourthly, But I insist too long in arguing a Point that is so manifest; for what is plainer than that God is one that executeth Vengeance, since *he appropriates it to himself*; Vengeance is mine, *and I will repay it*; for he not only own himself therein to be a Revenger, but he claims it

as

as his great *Prerogative* to be so; Vengeance is mine, it is not man's, I will repay. And no less than this did *Seneca* imply in saying, *Let this therefore be for our comfort, that although our frailty omitteth Revenge, there will* be some one who will revenge us *on an Audacious, Proud and Injurious Enemy.*

Sen. in ep. non cad. Injuria. c. 18.

But you will ask me, **why** doth God Appropriate Vengeance? and **how** doth he Execute it?

I answer *First* to the **first** Question, that *therefore Vengeance is appropriated unto God, because in every wrong*, iniquity, injury or sin, which in its utmost comprehension and extent he hath severely forbidden, *there is contempt of him* and his command; so that though the Hurt and Injury be done to man, yet there being also in it Ὀλιγωρία and Neglect of God, it were an *Insolence* that could not be excused, for the Creature to take the matter out of his Creators hands, who is infinitely more concerned in it than he.

he. This were for man to frustrate and defeat (as much as in him lyes) the Vindication and Revenge of his Superiour and Lord, and by a Presumptuous execution and Pursuit of his own. God sayes, *Vengeance is mine.* I am more concerned in the Injury than Thou. Thy Enemy *wrongs* thee, but he *contemns* me; and therefore since it is so much my Interest to see it taken, do thou leave the Revenge to me. And to leave it to God, is but a piece of Deference and Respect we owe him. So *Aristotle*, ὁσιότης δὲ τὸ ἀδικεῖν τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν εὐσέβειαν. *It is Piety* (as one doth Paraphrase it) *to leave the matter* to God, *who if there be any fraud or cozenage, will surely* Revenge. Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 16.

And *How* is *Vengeance executed by him*, which was the **Second** Question I supposed you to put, *but either immediately* and in his own Person, or *mediately* and by his Ministers of State and *Magistrates?* Vengeance is God's, but he hath betrusted

der the Pillow of his poor distressed friend, unknown to him, [a Story mentioned by *Seneca*] is a known and famous Instance: and lastly, *That* of **leaving All** *for Religion*, a Doctrine as hard to be digested as it is in sensual and debauched times, it would be no surprise to *Anaxagoras*, of whom it is averred by *Philo*, that *Præ amore philosophiæ* prædia reliquit. *He left his Lands for the* love of Philosophy. The like is said of *Democritus*, and others.

Sen. Ep. de Benef.

Philo de vit. contempl

Vid. Plat. dialog. pro Socr.

But no longer to insist on *special* ones, I will only hint some **General** and *common Rules*, by which the Heathen Doctors obliged their Disciples to Regulate themselves in all their Actions, which assoon as I have mentioned, I make no Question but you will acknowledge them *Christian*.

As First, *That they ought to* **live** *and to* **think** *as always in the* **sight** *of God*, whoever inspects them; yea, and *as* if they were within the *ken and view* of all men. So *Seneca*.

nica. Sic certe vivendum tanquam in conspectu *vivamus, sic cogitandum, tanquam aliquis in pectus intimum inspicere possit, & potest. Quid enim prodest ab homine aliquid esse secretum,* Nihil Deo clausum *est. Interest animis nostris, & cogitationibus mediis intervenit. We ought* so *to* live, *as if we lived in* Publick, *and so to* think *as if one always* looked *into our very Heart; and One can. For what advantage is it that a thing be concealed from* man, *when nothing can be* hid from God. *He is present to our minds, and conscious of all our thoughts.* Thus *Seneca*; And *Thales* taught the same Doctrine: viz. *Homines existimare oportere, Deos omnia* cernere, *Deorum* esse omnia plena, *fore enim omnes* castiores. *That men ought to believe that* God seeth *all things, and that all places are full of him, for by this means they will become more Holy. Walk* before me (says God to *Abraham*) *and be upright. Can any hide himself in secret*

Sen. Epist. 83.

Thal. apud Cic. l. 2. de leg.

Gen. 17. 1.

Jer. 23. 24.

secret Places, that I shall not see him
Heb. 4. 13. *saith the Lord* [in the Prophet] *He is the Discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the Heart, neither is there any creature that is not* manifest *in his sight, but all things are naked and* open *in the eyes of him with whom we have to do,* saith the *Apostle.*

Secondly, *That whatever enterprize they were engaged* in, *or did apply themselves unto, they ought to go about it in the* name *of* God, *Acknowledging Him Author both of all Ability*, and all success; for which cause it was ordained among the *Romans*, that nothing should be done, or undertaken by them, but with *Invocation* of Divine Assistance
Pl. in Paneg. and Prayer. *Bene ac sapienter P.C.* (sayes the *Junior Plinie*) *majores instituerunt, ut rerum agendarum ita dicendi initium* à precationibus capere, *quòd nihil rite, nihilq; providenter homines sine Deorum immortalium ope, consilio, honore auspicarentur. It was a Pious and*

most

most Prudent institution of our Ancestors, *O Grave and Honourable Fathers, that all Orations as well as all Actions, should be* begun with Prayer; *forasmuch as nothing can be wisely taken in hand by men, and to good purpose, without the Help, Counsel, Honour of the* Immortal God. And so *Ovid*,

A Jove principium *in Jovem* terminus *esto.*

The *Apostles* Doctrine is, *Pray always.* And in the *Revelations* of St. *John*, 'tis *I am Alpha and Omega, the* Beginning *and the* Ending. Which minds me of another Rule.

Thirdly, *That they ought in all their Actions to referr unto the* **Glory of God**, *and so to carry and acquit themselves in them,* as *those that do partake of his* **Nature**. *Ut breviter tibi formulam præscribam* (it is in *Seneca*) talis *animus sapientis viri esse debet, qualis* Deum *deceat.* Epist. 41.

deceat. That I may prescribe thee a brief Rule *of living*; *such ought the mind of a wise man to be*, *as doth* become God. So the *Apostle*, *Let the same* mind *be in you*, as *was in Christ Jesus. Be you Perfect* (says *Christ*) as *your Heavenly* Father *is Perfect*. Again, it is averred of *Pythagoras* and his followers by *Iamblicus*, that "Ἄπασα ὅσα οἱ τὸ παρόλον διοίζουν ἱστόχαδς ἐ ὁσὶ τὸ θεῖον ὁμολογίας, &c. That *whatever distribution they make of Actions*, [or what Rules soever they make concerning them] *all refers to this Mark*, *the* Confession [or Glory] *of God*. And thus the *Apostle*, *Whether you* eat *or* drink, *or whatever you* do, *do all to the* Glory *of God*.

Iambl. de vit Pythag. c. 28.

It was from this *Principle* that their so *absolute a Resignation to the Divine Disposal* and Will, and their so Perfect a Submission proceeded, that as the *Christian* prayeth, *Let thy Will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven*, so a *Philosopher* could

could say, *Nihil* cogor, *nihil patior* invitus, *nec* servio *Deo*, *sed* assentio, *in quidem magis*, *quod scio omnia* certa *& in aternum dicta lege decurrere*——Olim *constitutum est*, *quid gaudeas*, *quid fleas*. *I am not compelled*, *I suffer nothing* unwillingly, *neither am I a* slave *unto God*, *but* assent *unto his will*, *and so much the rather*, *because I know that all things happen by an Eternal and Unchangeable Ordinance of God*—*Long since it was Decreed*, *what thou shouldst have of Joy or Sorrow*. So *Seneca*. And with how much Justice doth the same *Seneca* in the same Discourse applaud that manly Speech of *Demetrius*; *In this* One thing, *O Immortal Gods*, *I can complain of you*, *that you have not made known unto me what your* Will *was*: *for of my self*, *I had first of all come unto these things*, *to which being now* called, *I present my self*.

Sen. cur bon' vir. mala fiant c. 5. vid. Ceb. in Phad. Plat.

Vid. Stob. serm. 22. Epichar. apud Clem. Alexandr. l. 7. Strom.

Fourthly, Not to mention *what Apprehensions many of them had of* **Conscience**, and of the Interest it hath in all Our Actions, *That* a *Good* one is a continual Feast, an *Evil* one a continual Torment; *That* the Goodness of the *Heart* ought to concurr to make the *Action* Good. *Actio recta non erit, nisi recta fuerit* voluntas, *ab hac enim est Actio. Rursus*, Voluntas *non erit recta, nisi* habitus animi *rectus fuerit. If the* Will *be not Good, the* Action *which Proceedeth from the same shall never be. Furthermore, the* Will *shall be Perverse, if the Habitude of the Spirit be not upright.* But not to stand on that, I will add but *One* more, but that a very useful and momentous one, namely, *That they ought to Act nothing with* **Doubting** *and reluctant* **Minds**, but to be well Resolved of the Equity, Justice and Lawfulness of things, before they did them; So *Cicero. Quocirca bene præcipiunt, qui vetant quicquam agere quod* dubites, *æquum sit,*

Sen. Ep 95.

Cic. Offic. l. 1.

sit, an iniquum; Æquitas enim licet, *ipsa per se* Dubitatio *autem cogitationem significat injuriæ. Well therefore do they teach, who forbid the doing of any thing whereof thou hast* doubt, *whether it be Right or wrong; for Equity carries its own* Light *with it, but Doubting declareth some Imagination and conceit of Injury.* This is according to our *Apostle, He that* Doubteth *is Damned*, if *he eat, because he eateth not of* Faith; *for whatsoever is not of Faith, is* Sin.

And now Sir, what remaineth to perfect my Discourse on this Head, but that I Demonstrate that the Old *Philosophers* and other Wise Heathen, in all their Actions of Religion, designed something which they called **communion** *with God.* Which that they did, is manifest, not only from the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, which some deride as too Fantastical and Aery, but from that of the *Platonists* and other Sects. *Nisi Divina sunt, ubique tollitur sacrificii virtus, quæ in quadam* *Iambl. de Myst.*

Deorum ad homines Communione *consistit. If there be no Deity, then farewel the Virtue of Sacrifices or Religion, which consisteth solely in the* Communion *of God with Men.* Thus *Iamblicus.* And saith the *Apostle, We have* Fellowship *with God.* The like is in *Plutarch.*

Plutarch. contra Colot.

And this *Communion* with, and conjunction unto God, as they understood it to be *inchoate* and begun in the present world, so they were perswaded that it was not to be *Perfect* and consummate but in a Future: That here indeed, as on a raging and tumultuous Sea, men are Uncapable of Hearing and discerning God distinctly, but that hereafter when they have emerged it, they shall go to him, and there shall Hear him, and See him, and Know him, even as he is. So *Max. Tyr.*

Max. Tyr. diss. 1.

Πῶς οὖν ἄν τις ἐκνήξαιτ' ἂν καὶ ἴδοι τὸν θεόν; τὸ μὲν ὅλον ὄψει τυτὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκῃ αὐτὸν κελεῦ. κελεύσει δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν· ἀνάμεσον τὸ κλῦσον, εἶδοι σοι γοῦρος, ἐλπιζοῦν ἐκεῖ. καὶ διαλέξῃ ὃν ὁ μὲν δοκεῖς εἰδέ.

καὶ ἐν ὀργάνοις ἄδειν, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπείγει ἀπιέναι, καὶ ὀργάνοις παρεῖναι. *But how shall we do to get out of this tumultuous Sea, and come to* see God? *Thou shalt* see *him* entirely, *when thou shalt be* called *to Him*; not *will it be long before he* calls *thee, in the mean time await till he do. Old age is coming, which will conduct thee thither, and so is* Death, *which though the weak fear, and tremble at the Approaches of it, yet every* Lover of God *doth both expect it with Joy, and receive it with Confidence.*

This is much, but what is more surprizing, I will now compendiously summ up the *Articles* of Christian Faith and Doctrine, and by way of *Parallel* annex to them others not unlike them in the Books of Philosophers; which though it may seem Presumptuous to attempt, is yet no more than what the antient *Fathers, some* of them in part have done, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, and *others* of them, as *Lactantius*

for one, acknowledged not impossible to be performed; For sayes he, Facile *est autem docere pene universam* veritatem *per* Philosophos *& Sectas esse* divisam. *It is* easie *to evince, that almost the whole* Truth *of Christian Religion is divided among the* Philosophers *in their several Sects.*——*Sed docemus* nullam *Sectam fuisse tam deviam, nec Philosophorum* quenquam *tam inanem, qui non viderit* aliquid *ex vero. We assert that there was never a* Sect *so much out of the way, nor one of all the Philosophers so* vain, *but that both It and He had some Glympses of the* Truth.——*Quod si extitisset aliquis qui veritatem sparsam per singulos, per Sectasque diffusam colligeret in* unum, *ac redigeret in* corpus, *is profecto* non dissentiret à nobis. *Sed hoc nemo facere, nisi vere peritus ac sciens potest. Were there one that would collect together, and reduce into a Systeme or Body, all that* Truth *scattered in the several Philosophers,*

Lact Inst. l. 7. c. 7.

thers, and diffused throughout their several Sects; *Verily he would not* differ from us. So said the *Father*, and so think I.

To begin then, *That* God is, *and is such an One as Holy Scripture hath described him*, that is, that he is *Father Almighty, Wise, Holy, Good, Just, Maker of Heaven and Earth*, and that his *Providence* and *Care extends to* all *his works*, are *Truths* so generally Acknowledged by wise men *in all times*, that I dare not abuse your Patience by so Unnecessary a Performance as that would be to give you many Proofs and Instances on *them*, out of the Antients.

You know how many Plain Testimonies concerning them, are collected by *Martinus* in his Metaphysicks, by *Alsted* in his Theologie, and by the Noble *Morney* in his Book of the Verity of Christian Religion, and by many others; and in the Treatise which occasioned you the present trouble, there are also some collected, so that I need not add

Vid. Strab. de prima Philo. l. 3. & 4.

add more on this Head, but only one citation out of *Plato*. For he having first confessed the little satisfaction which he had received in the *Theogonie*, and *Zoogenie* of the Antients, or those *Discourses* which were transmitted down by them in writing about the Origin or Generation of the Gods, and Animals, he Premises this as Fundamental to his *own* concerning the *former*. ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ ὀνομαζόμενοι πάντων ἐμέμνητο καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀπεφαίνετο δεῖ οὖν τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀκόλουθον. *That there are* Gods, or which I take to be the true meaning that *there is a* God, *whose* Providence *and care particularly extends to all things both small and great, and who is inflexible from what is Just* and Right. And afterward in the same *Discourse*, reflecting on the Perpetuity, the Constancy, the Order in the Motion of the Heavens, not conceiving it imaginable how any lower Being should be able to inspire, and principle it, He concludes that *God* did; Θεὸς δὲ

Plat. in Epin. Vid. Socr. in Plat. Phæd. Arist. de Mundo.

δι ἑαυτὸ ὁ αἴτιος ἐστὶν, I affirm, it is God that is the Cause.

But to leave a Point that is not questioned, I proceed to entertain you with another that almost deserves to be as little, I mean the Doctrine of the **Trinity**, which though denyed by the *Modern Jews*, as we may read in *Buxtorfe*, and called into question by many that profess themselves Christians; yet it was undoubtedly acknowledged by the *Antient* Jews, as you may find demonstrated in *Mornay*, and was intimated in that Form of Benediction, which *Galatinus* mentions; nor was it unknown unto the **Gentiles**, which is now my task to Demonstrate.

Buxtor. Synag. Jud. c. 3.

Mornay of Trueness of Christian Religion, c. 6.

Galat. in Epist. ad Rivell.

And here I must profess how much I owe to the Learned and Industrious *Patricius*, for saving me a great part of the labour which otherwise I must have put my self to, by collecting out of *Zoroaster*, and *Hermes*, such Authorities as manifestly prove the point in hand; which partly because

Patric. Parech. l. 9.

cause they may not be so generally known, the Author not lying in every bodies way, and partly also to render this Discourse the more Absolute, I shall compendiously repeat here.

For to begin with *Zoroaster*, he speaketh of a *Paternal Monad* or Unite, ὅπου πατρικὴ μονὰς ἐστί, *where the* Paternal Monad *is*; and, as *Patricius* well observes, a Paternal is a *Generative* or Principiant Monad, and so is *this*, for he begetteth or Principleth the number next in Nature, and that is *Two* [the Son and Spirit] γεννᾷ (saith he) ἡ μονὰς ἢ δύο γεννᾷ. *The Monad is Protended, which* begetteth Two; which Two he calls the *Diad*, and affirmeth of them, that they alwayes *sit* with the Father, Δυὰς δὲ παρὰ πατρὶ κάθηται. *But the* Diad sits *with him.* [*In the beginning was* with *God.*] Now a Monad and a Diad, or One and Two makes Three; or a Monad protended into a Diad, is a Trinity; of which he saith, τριὰς δὲ ἐστι

κόσμου

ὑπερ λάμπει τειὰς, ἧς μόνας ἄρχει, *The* Trinity *whereof the* Unity *is the* Principle, *shineth out in all the world.*

But you will say, here is a kind of Trinity indeed, but of what *Relation* to the Christian? Ours is a *Father*, a *Son* the Wisdom of the Father, and an *Holy Spirit*, through which He worketh all, and so was *Zoroaster*'s; for the **first Principle**, which he mostly calleth the *Monad*, otherwhere he calls the *Father*, ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασεν, *The* Father *Ravished himself*; πᾶσα ἐξετέλεσεν πατὴρ, *The* Father *perfected all things.* The **Second Person**, which he somewhere calls the Fathers Power, He calleth otherwhere the Fathers *Mind*, ἔργα νοήσας πατρικὸς νοῦς αὐτοφύης, *The self-begotten* Mind *of the Father, considering the things which were made.* And for the **third** Person [which, as *Patricius* thinks, he calls the Second Mind, for the Self-Begotten is the First, πᾶσα ἐξετέλεσεν πατὴρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δευτέρῳ,

τέλειον, the Father Perfected all things, and gave them to the Second Mind.] I say, the *third* Principle is by him acknowledged to be the *πέρας πατρικῆς βύθου καὶ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν, The term of the Paternal Abysse, and the Spring of Intellectual Beings*; To whom ascribing the *Efficiency* and Making of all things that are made, he calls him the Maker, καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς, &c. *and the Maker*, &c.

So much for *Zoroaster*; and there are as many and as pregnant Testimonies in **Hermes** as in Him; all which it were too long to enumerate; wherefore I shall only touch on some, and those the Principal; as that he speaks of God the **Father**, and calls him *the Mind*, ὁ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ Θεὸς, *but the* Mind, *God the* Father. Which had *Zoroaster* also ever done, I should have thought the **Second Mind** to be the Son, and that the saying which I quoted even now, *that the Father perfected all things*, and *gave them to the Second Mind*, were to be understood of

Herm. in Pim. l. 1. Vid. Stoch. de potent. Phil. l. 2. c. 17.

of the Son, to whom the Scripture tells us, *the* Father hath given all things, [*All Power in Heaven and Earth is given unto me:*] but *Patricius* is expreſs, that *Zoroaſter* never calls the Father Mind, though *Hermes* do.

Indeed in my Opinion *Hermes* ſpeaketh more expreſly of the **Son** and **Spirit**, and more conſonantly to the Sacred Scriptures, than *Zoroaſter*, for he ſaith of the *former*, Ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φωτεινοῦ λόγου ὢν νοῦς—*From the* [Firſt] *Mind* [proceeds] *the Lucid* Word, *the* Son *of God.* Which **Word** he often calls the *Son.* Ἐστὶ δὲ πατρικὸν ἀείγονον καὶ τέλειον καὶ γένεμον γνῆσιον ὢν, *He is the Iſſue of the moſt Perfect, the Perfect, the Begotten, the* Natural Son. *By* this *Word*, he ſayes the Father made the *World*, ὁ πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ πατὴρ οὐ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ λόγῳ, *The Great Creator, or Demiurgus, the Father, He* made *the whole* World, *not with hands, but by* [his] Word.

And

And for the *Spirit*, what clearer Testimony can be had of him than this. Ὁ Θεὸς ἀρρενόθηλυς ὢν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς ὑφέστηκεν, ἀπεκύησεν λόγῳ ἕτερον νοῦν δημιουργικόν, ὃς Θεὸς πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος ὤν, ἐδημιούργησε. *God* [*the Father*] *Male Female, Life and Light, did by the* Word *principle another* Demiurgical Mind, *which being the God of Fire and Spirit, produced or effected* [the World.] In which Assertion, as in the Holy Scriptures, the *Third* Principle is compared to *Fire* and *Spirit*, he shall baptize you ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί, *with the Holy* Spirit *and Fire*; which Spirit *Hermes* also representeth as the Ligament and *band* of Union between the Father and Son, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος τούτου ἑνώσεως, ἢ πνεῦμα πάντα φέρον, *and there is no other* Union *of this, than the* Spirit *that containeth all things.* And it is this Spirit that he somewhere calls the *Life*; for speaking of the Father and the Son, he sayes, οὐ χωρίζονται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· εἰσὶ γὰρ τόπος ἡ ζωή, *they are indistant from*

from one another; *for the* Life *is the Union* of these two; and so the Scripture speaks, which also calls the *Spirit*, the *Life*.

But in regard the Works of *Hermes* and *Zoroaster* are esteemed by many but *Pious frauds*, though perhaps it were no hard task to evidence them very Antient, and to restore them to their former credit, (a piece of Justice that the Learned *Patricius* hath in part done them;) I shall therefore add some *other* Testimonies not obnoxious to such suspicions, in confirmation both of them, and of the truths I have design'd to evince.

Not that I will much insist *on* the *Trinity* of the Antient *Orpheus*, or his Three Creators and Makers of the World, (which some say he calls *Phanes*, *Uranos* and *Chronos*) concerning which you may peruse *Reuchlin* and *Mornay*; nor *on* the Testimonies of the *Sibyls*, which yet are very plain and express; nor *on* the three Kings of *Plato* neither, under

In Reuch. l. 3. de verb. mir. l. c. 5. Nat. Conom & Author. Mornay of Truth of Christian Religion, c. 6.

Vid. Aug. de Civit. l. 10. c. 29. under that Notion, of which *Patricius* whom I have so often mentioned, speaketh; or on this, that *Plato* in *Gorgias* (if you will believe the Learned *Du-port*) teacheth, & Ὅμηρον (*autorem* scil. *fuisse*) & Ἡ Δημιουργικῶν τριαδικῆς ὑποστάσεως, *That* Homer *was Author of the Trine subsistence of the Demiurgical Principles.*

Du-port Gorg. Homer p. 86.

The *first* I will insist upon is, that of the *Pythagoreans*, who as *Aristotle* noteth in his Book *de cœlo*, affirmed, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶ ὥρισται. *That the Universe and all things in it are terminated by* three: And it was, as *Plutarch* tells us, one of the Placits of *Pythagoras*, ——*Diis superis* impari *numero sacrificare, inferis* pari, *That the number of the Sacrifices offered to the Celestial Gods should be* Odd, but to *the Infernal Even.* Now we know *Pythagoras* had been initiated in *Ægypt*, into the Mysteries of *Hermes*, and in *Chaldæa*, into those of *Zoroaster*, and not unlikely in honour of the *Doctrine* of the Trinity wherein he was in-

Arist. de Cœl. l. 1. c. 1.

Plut. in Num.

Vid. Apul. Florid. l. 1.

instructed, he might put this Honorary Mark upon the *Ternary* number, and Vogue it *Sacred* and Divine; which also others did as well before, as after him. So *Homer*,

———Τριχᾷ δ' πάντα δέδασται. *Vid. Du-Port. ubi supra.*

All things are divided three manner of wayes.

So *Theocritus*.

Ter *libo, terque hac pronuncio mystica* verba. *Theocr. in Pharmaceut.*

Ἰς τὸν ἐπιστόμιον, ἐς τὸν τάλα πάντα φανῶ.

So *Virgil*,

——*Numero Deus* impare *gaudet*.

So *Ovid*,

Et digitis tria *thura* tribus *sub limine ponit*.

And how irrefragable a *Testimony* of the Doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity*, that it was not utterly concealed and hid from the Antients, is this of *Aristotle*,

Arist. de Cœlo, l. 1. c. 1.

Διὸ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἰληφότες ὥσπερ νόμον ἐκείνης, καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀγιστείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς χρώμεθα τῷ ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ. *Wherefore receiving it from* Nature *as a* Law *of her establishment, we are wont to use this* Number [*viz.* the Ternary.] *in the Solemn* Worship *of the Gods.* And how could this Usage so obtain [so *Universally* as to be thought a Sanction, Law and Ordinance of *Nature*] but that it was received by Tradition from the first and common Parents, and so diffused all over? So little reason had Cardinal *Bassarion* to deride *Trapezuntius.*

But not to importune you with all that might be said, I will only offer one consideration more to make it plain, which is, that the Antient *Roman Pontifs*, who 'tis likely might receive the custom from

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Pythagoras, were in their *Imprecations*, their *Vota*, or Solemn Invocations of Divine Goodness and Clemency, wont to hold *Three fingers up Erect*, the other two depressed on the Palms of their hands, as who would say, imploring from the blessed Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that good and blessing they Desired.

That this was an Antient Custom among the *Romans* (and, as *Galatinus* saith, the High-Priest among the *Jews*, when he pronounc'd within the Sanctuary, the *Nomen Tetragrammaton*, or name *Jehovah*, did the like) is proved by the learned *Reuchlin*, who affirmeth that for this Reason their Imprecations, Vows, or Blessings were called **Indigitaments**. So *Imprecari*, in *Festus Pompeius* is *indigitari*; which word, though by occasion of the Ignorance of Persons uninitiated in the Mysteries, it were read, and now is written **IN [INDIGITARI]** yet antiently, and in the Pontifs

Galat. lib. 7. Ex. ad Reuclin.

Books, it was not so, but TRI-DIGITARI, thus III DIGITARI; as they were wont to write One that had been thrice Consul, III CDSS. You may see more of this in *Reuchlin*.

Reuchl. in Ep. ad Galatas.

Again, and what among the Learned is more discoursed of than the *Trinity of Plato?* who in his *Timæus* mentions **One**, τὸ ἀεὶ γένεσιν οὐκ ἔχον, *An Eternal Being* Ingenite; whom he afterwards calls ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς, *The Maker and* Father *of this Universe*; and who is this but God the **Father** *Almighty?* Then he mentions a **Begotten God**, διὰ ταῦτα δὴ τοῦτο ἐσκόπουν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐγεννήσαι, *For all these Reasons did He* beget *this Blessed God.* By which truly I think he understood not the *Intelligible* World, or that *Idea* and *exemplar of the sensible*, extant in the mind of God from all Eternity, which he calleth ἀιδιότητα αἰῶνος, *The Eternal Form or Model*, but this

Plat. in Tim.

this *sensible one*, or Nature; which none can once question that but readeth what he *further* saith of this Begotten God, ἔστι δὴ οὖν ὅλως ἀεὶ λογισμὸς θεοῦ περὶ τὸν μετὰ ἐπιόντα θεὸν λογικὸς λεῖος καὶ ἐμμελὴς, πανταχῇ τε, ἐκ μέσου ἴσος καὶ ὅλος καὶ σῶμα ἐπείσας. *Such indeed was the Eternal Ratiocination of God about the* Future God, *which he made smooth and Equable* on every side, *and from the middle* rising up evenly, *a* Body *Perfect and absolute, composed of absolute and Perfect* Ones. This is *Plato* his Begotten-God, or the Son of God; not that Intelligible World existent in the mind of God, but the Sensible produced by it; and of the same mind is *Timæus Locrus*, ἐπείσας οὖν καὶ ἡ καὶ κόσμον—*God made this* World, *&c. which* afterwards he calls the *Son* of God, or the Begotten-God, καλόν τε καὶ ἄριστον γένεμα παῖδα, τὸν ἐπὶ θεὸν γενητὸν, *God willing to beget a most fair and beautiful* Offspring, *produced* this Begotten-God [the World.]

Plat. in Tim. f. 34. Ed. Stephani.

Tim. Locr. de An. Mun.

DEMON. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Δαίμονες πολλοί, καὶ παντοδαποί εἰσιν, εἷς δ' τούτων καὶ ὁ Ἔρως. *There are many and Diverse Dæmons, and* Love *is* one *of them.*

I know *you* do not startle at the Name, nor at the Thing *Dæmon*, though I believe some others will, who are less acquainted with the Antient Learning, and who know no other meaning of the word, than what common usage now enstamps upon it. But there will be little Reason for any man to Boggle at either, if he can have the Patience but to hear *Diotima* describing the **Demonial Nature**, That *it is a* middle one *between God and what* is *Mortal*, Μεταξὺ θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ· *that 'tis its office to* interpret, *and to carry the* Prayers *and Sacrifices of men to God, and the* Precepts *and Commands of God, with all his Gracious* Retributions *and Returns to men.* Ἑρμηνεύον, καὶ διαπορθμεῦον ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τά τε τῆς δεήσεις, καὶ θυσίας, τά τε

ἡ πᾶς δεσμὸς τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῆς δυνάμεως. That *it* filleth (*being of a* middle nature) *Both* [the Upper and the Lower Region,] or, is as a *haps or common Ligament, to bind the Universe in all its parts together*; ὃ μὲν ἢ ὃν ἀμφοτέρων συμπλεκεῖ, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸ αὑτῷ ξυνδεῖδε. That *it is the* Rise *and Spring of Divination or* Prophecy. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶσα χωρεῖ.——In fine, That *God and Man have no* **immediate** *communion or commerce together, but what intelligence and* Intercourse *soever is between them,* Proceeds *from this* Dæmonial Nature, θεὸς ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου πᾶσα ἔστιν ἡ ὁμιλία, καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος θεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ——Thus *Diotima.*

And how well has her Discourse, it is so deep and so surprizing, Rewarded our Attention to it! For *all* she spake in *General* of the Dæmonial Nature, was intended (as the scope of that Discourse evinces) *Principally*, if not solely *for* the Μέγας Δαίμων, the *Great Dæmon*; and

and if she mention'd others, it was by way of *caution*, only to secure her self, and Umbrage what she said that it might down the better, amid the many Prejudices of the Vulgar that opposed it. Nor durst *Plato*, who was well acquainted with the Fate of *Socrates*, and with the charge that made it, more apertly explicate the matter; It was the great Crime imputed to the *Master*, and for which he was condemned and Executed, that he Introduced *New Dæmons*; and it would have been a greater in the *Scholar*, and after such Example less Excusable, wholly to exclude the *Old*. Wherefore, it is not Injudicious to Understand the Prophetess, in the Argument preceding, principally to Regard the *great Dæmon*; and who is *He*, but Christ? For it is *He*, and (indeed) only He *that* is a *Mediator* between God and man, and that *participates* them both; It is *He Interpreteth* the mind of God, and that *presenteth* all our Prayers, and that *Reporteth* all his

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Answers and Returns; By *him* alone we hold *Communion*, and Intelligence with God; 'Tis *he* that *filleth* All things, which no other *Dæmon* can, and *in* all, the Æthereal Region in the *form* of God, the Inferiour in the *form* of man; and it is *he* that is the common *Ligament* that holdeth Heaven and Earth together, by whom all the Parts and Members of the Universe, Disbanded in the Fall, are Re-united under one Head. [Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, to *Recapitulate*, is the Apostles word.] Eph. 1.10.

And well might *Jesus Christ*, the Great *Dæmon* of *Plato*, be styled by him (as he was) Ἔρως or **Love**, who as one composed all of *Love*, has given greater Demonstrations in Effect of *His*, than it is possible for Men to represent in words. Nor is it *contradicted* by the Story which the Author tells us of the *Origin* and Rise of Love, namely that it was the Offspring of *Porus* and *Penia*, of Plenty and Poverty; for what more easie Applications can Plat. in Conviv. f. 203. Ex ed. Steph.

be made of it, than to our blessed Saviour, who is the Issue of the Grace and Goodness of Almighty God, and of the Indigency, Need and Poverty of Man? Had not Man been *Indigent* and Needy, and God Infinitely *Rich* in Grace and Mercy, Christ had never come.

As for the **Resurrection** *of the Dead* (*Another Article* of Christian Religion) *it* was Believed by the *Druids*; *it* was Preached by the *Sibylls*; it was implyed *in* the Doctrine of the *Immortality* of Humane Souls, *in* the *Sepulture* of Bodies, and *in* the *Rights* of *Sepulchres*, which for that they preserved the Dust and Ashes of Men against the time of Restitution, were esteemed all the World over *Sacred* and Inviolable. So *Phocylides*.

Neh. 2. 3.

Phocyl. in Poem. Admonitor.

Γαῖαν ὀνησιφόρῳ ἀπερχόμενοι νεκύεσσι,

It is Humane] *to afford Earth unto Unburied Carkases.* Again,

μὴ τύμβον θιμιθῶν ἀνορύξῃς, μήθ' ἁλίαις
δείξῃς ἠελίῳ, ἃ δυμένων χρέος ὄψῃς.

Thou shalt not violate *the* Sepulcher *of the Dead; nor discover to the Sun, things not to be looked on.*

The next Verse is to the same Purpose.

Οὐ καλὸν ἁρμονίην ἀναλύειν ἀνθρώπου.

It is Infamous to dissolve the Humane frame, or disturb his Ashes. And why? He annexes the Reason in the following Verses.

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐν γαίῃς ἐλπίζομεν εἰς φάος ἐλθεῖν
λείψανα ἀπυρχομένων ———

And we hope *that ere long the* grave *shall* render *up again to light the* Reliques *of the Dead.*

And, though in St. *Pauls* time, the Multitude at *Athens* were so absolutely *unacquainted* with the Re- Act. 17. 18.

surrection (of the Dead,) that when they had the Happiness to hear him Preach concerning it, some of them apprehended him to speak of a God, and all of a new and strange thing; *yet* we know that at the same time, there were *Philosophers Rome* that were most clear and full in their Belief and Faith of it, who not unlikely with their other knowledges, Received even this at *Athens*; from some *above* the many. Once, Philosophy came from *Greece* to *Rome*; and at *Rome* we have some Notice of this Article. *Seneca* shall speak thereof, *Mors* (saith he) intermittit *vitam*, *non* eripit. Veniet *iterum qui nos in Lucem* reponat, Dies. *Death is but* [a sleep] *an* Interruption, *not an* Abolition *of Life*; *there will a* Day come, *when we may* Repossess the Light. Thus *He* of the Resurrection of the Body: which yet both *Portius Festus* and *Pliny* derided. *Democritus* indeed seems to have spoken of it, and that occasioned in part the Extravagant

Sen. Ep. 36.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 55.

gant Sally and Talk of *Pliny*.

And having treated of the Resurrection of the Body, I will now tell you why I premised to it nothing of the *State and Immortality* of the *soul*; It was because I did esteem it as a Point supposed in all Religions, and taken for granted. However in regard you may expect I should say something; not to mention that *Pherecides Syrus* Master of *Pythagoras*, is said by some, (by others *Thales*) to be the first that asserted it, which I will then credit when I am convinced that before them, there was neither Worship nor Theologie; I affirm it a *Doctrine* so Universally *believed*, and known to be *so*, that it were superfluous to be much in Citations. You shall therefore have the trouble but of reading *one* Testimony, which for Pregnancy and Fulness of its Sense, and its Conformity with that of Holy Writ, will supersede all others. It is *Moschion*'s, or as some, *Menanders*,

Cicero Tusc. quæst. l. 1.

Lant. in Thal.

Vid. Arist. de Gener. Animal. l. 2. c. 3. Plut. contra Colot. Cic. l. de Scott.

Mosch. apud Stob. Ser. 120.

Ἐάσατ' ἤδη γῇ καλυφθῆναι νεκρόν,
Ὅθεν δ' ἔκαστον εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο
Ἐντεῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν· πνεῦμα μ', ὅθεν εἶδες,
Τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν ——

Permit the Dead to be covered with Earth,
And every thing whence *it came into the Body,*
Thither *to Return*: *the* Spirit *to* Heaven,
And the Body *to* Earth.

Eccl. 12.7. So *Solomon*. *Then shall the* dust *Return to the* Earth, *as it was*; *and the* Spirit *shall Return unto* God *that gave it*. And *Socrates* was sure of it that he should go to the θεοὶ δεσπόται, to the Gods Lords.

Socrat. apud Platon. in Phed.

As *for* **Judgement**; 'Tis manifest by a Passage which I cited out of *Jamblicus* upon the first Argument, that the great *Pythagoras* both believed and taught it. And what Apprehensions the more *Antient* Times had, and how conforma-

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ble to those that Christians have from *Christ* in *Matthew*, is deduceable from the Old Story of **Erus**, Son of *Armenius*, which we have in *Plato*, and which I mention'd in the Preface to my former Treatise. The Story is this, *Erus* Son of *Armenius*, was in a great Combat slain with many others, and after ten dayes, when the Bodies of the rest, all putrified and rotten, were removed, *his* was found as sweet and as sound as ever, which his friends carrying home in order to perform to it all the requisite Funeral Ceremonies, on the twelfth day from his decease, as they were laying him upon the Funeral Pile, Behold *Erus* reviv'd, and being reviv'd, related all that he had seen and heard from the time that he first departed. His *Relation* follows. Ἤρ φ ἐφασκὲ ἔ ἐλθεῖν τὸν ψυχὸν ——

Matth. 25. 31, &c.

Plat. de Rep. l. 10. f. 614, &c.

He said, That *after the Separation of his Soul from the Body, he went with many in his company, and* [at last] *arrived at a certain* Divine Place, *whence he saw* two Openings

or *Hiatus in the Earth*, *one near another*, and *as* many *also above in* Heaven right opposite to them. That *betwixt these Openings there sate* Judges. That *these Judges, after they had taken Judicial Cognizance of all Persons and Matters, and accordingly had passed Sentence*, commanded *the* JUST πορεύειν τοὺς εἰς ΔΕΞΙΑΝ τι, ἐν ἄνω, *to go to the* RIGHT HAND *up into* Heaven. *Which they did, carrying on their* Breasts Σημεῖα τῶν δικαιοπραγιῶν, *the* Records *of all the* Good *things acknowledged in that Judgement to have been done by them.* But the Wicked and UNJUST τοὺς εἰς ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΝ τι ἐν κάτω, *were ordered to the* LEFT HAND, *and to descend to the Infernals*; they *also* bearing, *but upon their* backs, Σημεῖα πάντων ὧν ἔπραξαν, *Intimations* [as *it were Records in writing*] *of all that they had* done. That *Erus himself for his part, when he came before the Judges, was told by them, that* he *must* return *again to Mortals*,

tals, to Report to them all that he had seen and heard, and therefore that he should exactly observe, &c.

And how agreeable (I say) is this *Relation* of *Erus*, for so much of it as concerns Judgement, to *that* we have from *Jesus Christ*, who tells us, *that* in the last day there shall a *Separation* be made, as of *Sheep* from Goats? The Sheep shall stand at the **RIGHT**, the Goats at the **LEFT HAND**; and *that* then the *Good omitted* by the Wicked, as *that performed* by the Just, shall come to Light, and stand Eternally *Recorded* with the Sentence passed on them, to shew Divine Justice.

You have another *Old Story* to Demonstrate the Antient Faith of *Gentiles* in the point of *Judgement*, in *Plato*, who maketh *Socrates* to tell it to one *Callicles*. Therein he speaks of *Two wayes*, one to *Heaven*, another to *Hell*: Of three *Judges*, *Rhadamanthus* Judge of the *Asians*, *Æacus* Judge of the *Europeans*, and

Plato in Gorg. f. 526. ex Ed. Steph.

and *Minos* presiding over both, with a many other not impertinent meters. But as he tells the Tale, it is so prolix, and after what I have already said from *Erus*, so unnecessary here, that I will not give my self the trouble to Transcribe, or you to Read it; only, there is a passage in it that imports how Just, and how impartial a Judgement that shall be; which for that it is Important and concerning, I think not fit to omit. For *Socrates* having in Discourse on some part of his Relation said (what the Holy Penmen in many places also do) οἱ πολλοὶ, ὦ δεινε, κακοὶ γίγνονται οἱ δυνάσται, That *many of the Dynastes or Rulers of the World are wicked*; thence he takes occasion to resume his Story, and to tell how *Uprightly*, how Equally, how Impartially Judge *Rhadamanthus* does Acquit himself towards them and others; ἐπειδὰν ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἀνῆρ τινὰ λάβῃ, *When the foresaid* Rhadamanthus *taketh such* an one *in hand* to *examine*

amine him, ἀλλὰ μ' οὐδὲ ἀυτῦ ἐκ οἶδεν ἐξ ὅ τι ἐστι, οὔτ' ἔρωτον, ἐπ ἢ πατρὸς τε, *He taketh cognizance of nothing in him, neither of what Rank or Quality he is,* or *from whom descended; but only that he is* Wicked; ἢ τὸν τοιοῦδε ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Τάρταρον, *and finding him so, dismisseth him to* Hell. ἐπεκρινάμενος ἰάσιμος, ἰάσιμος, ἀνίατος ἢ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάσχει. *Putting on him a* Mark *to signifie that he is Curable, or else Incurable.*] It seems they held Purgatory.] ἐνίοτε δ' ἄλλου εἰσιδὼν ἐκεῖνον βεβιωκότα, ἢ μετ' ἀληθείας, ἀνθρώπου ἰδιώτου, ἢ ἄλλου τινος. *But if he see another soul, that of a man that hath lived* Holily *and according to* Truth, *and* Justly, *whether it be that of a plain and* Unlearned *man, or else of* another, (μάλιστα μ' ἔγωγε φημὶ ὦ Καλλίκλεις, φιλόσοφον, τὰ ἀυτῦ πράξαντος, ἢ ὁ πολὺ πρεσβυτάτος ἐν τῷ βίῳ) *But Principally I say, O* Callicles, *if it he a* Philosophers [I had almost rendred it, if a Christians] *One that minds* his own *matters, and*

is

is no busie-body *in other mens*) ἀγάλλει τε καὶ εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀποπέμπει, That *he huggs, and sends to the* Islands of the Blessed. *Æacus* does the like. *Minos* sits by superintending, according to *Ulysses* in *Homer*.

Χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχων θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσι.

Holding a Golden Scepter, and ordaining Right *to the Dead.*

This for the *Judgement to come*; But if any urges that the Testimonies I have cited do concern the *Particular* one, which every soul assoon as it abandons and forsakes the Body undergoes, rather than the *General* wherein all men all together, souls and bodies re-united shall appear at the Bar: I say (1.) Particular Judgement and General differ not *essentially*; but accidentally. (2.) And who knows but that they meant both? But (3.) If they apprehended not the Article in all its *Circumstances* so distinctly as we now do, it will not much matter, if for all they

they did believe the *substance*, That *All must answer one day for what they do in the Body, and be Rewarded accordingly:* Since this sufficeth for both the Ends of that Discovery, namely *to* Influence the Humane Life, and *to* Justifie Divine Procedure.

As *for the two States* of **Heaven and Hell**, there are so many and so obvious Testimonies both of *Poets* and *Philosophers*, of which occasionally I have mentioned some already, that to offer any in so plain a matter, and here especially, may seem *superfluous*; yet, that I be not altogether wanting unto this *Article* in its Order, since I have not yet been so to others in theirs, I will present you *One* Evidence concerning *it*, and because it will indeed be absolutely unnecessary after that to offer more, I will Present but One. Ὧν καὶ νόμῳ (sayes *Socrates*) ἔδει τὸν ἀνθρώπων τῶν κρίνω, ἢ δεῖ, ἢ ταῦτ' ἔν τῷ βίῳ τὸν ἐν τοῦτ. *This was the* Law *and Sanction of God concerning Men in the* Reign

Socrat. ap. Platon. in Gorg. p. 523. ex Ed. Ficin. Lut. Sorb.

Reign *of* Saturn, *and the same was* always, *and even now* is (in force.) And what is that Law? ὃς ἀνθρώποις τὸ μὴ ἀνόσιον, &c. That, *whosoever among men did live* ὁσίως καὶ ἀδίκως *Righteously and Holily*, should ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ *whensoever he dyed*, go εἰς μακάρων νήσους *unto the* Islands of the Blessed, οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν, *there to dwell in all* felicity, *without the* Mixture *of Evils*. This was the Law for the *Good*. So *Christ*, Blessed *are they that dye in the Lord*, thenceforth *they rest from their labours and their works follow them. There shall be* no night *there*; *There shall be* no *Curse there*. But what is the *Law* for the *wicked*? Τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀνοσίως, *But he that lived* without *God*, *or Impiously in the world*, and *Unrighteously*, *was to go* εἰς τὸ τῶν τοιούτων τε καὶ δίκας διδόντων χωρίον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσι, *into the Place of Punishment and Justice*, *which they call* Tartarus. And *Dives in* Hell, *&c.*

I con-

I confess, the **Life Everlasting**, by which I understand that *Glorious and Immutable Condition or Estate to be possessed by the Godly in the Resurrection or the Re-union of the Body with the Soul*, is an *Article* wherein (if in any) the *Gentiles* generally were but *Dark*: And yet (what is not easily believed) it is true that *some* of them had Light and Information of *it*; for that very *Poet* whom I lately cited for the Resurrection from the Dead, immediately to what I have already quoted out of him on that head, adds this.

——ἔσσιν τε θεοὶ τελέθοντες. *Philem. in Poem. Admonitor.*

Afterwards [*viz.* after the Resurrection] *they shall be* Gods. And not the *Poet* only, but the Old *Magi* believed **Another**, and that an *Immortal Life*. So *Laertius*, ὃς καὶ ἀναστήσεσθαί τε καὶ Μάγους φησὶ καὶ ἀθανάτους καὶ ἔνιους ἀθανάτους, &c. ——*Who* (saith he, speaking it of *Theopompus*) *Theopomp. ap. Laert. in Prem. Plutarch. de Is. & Osir.*

pus) *affirmeth, that according to the Doctrine of the* Magi, *men shall* live again, *and then be* Immortal; A *Belief* that is not much short of that the *Christians* had of old, I know saith *Job*, that *my Redeemer liveth*, that *in the latter Day* He *shall stand upon the Earth*; *and* that I *shall see him with these Eyes. When I awake* (saith *David*) *I shall be satisfied with thy* Likeness. And what is that **Likeness**? I know how *some* understand it, *viz.* That it does consist in *Holiness*, or *in the correspondency of our Natures to the Divine*; But I rather understand it as *Analogie* and common sense of Scripture prompts me, to consist in **Glory**, I mean, *in the conformation of the* Vile *Bodies of Believers to the* Glorious *Body of Jesus Christ*. For as they have born the *Image* of the *Earthly*, they shall also bear the *Image* of the *Heavenly*. *Beloved, we are* now *the* Sons of God, *and it doth not* yet *appear* what *we shall be, but we know that when* He *shall Appear, we shall be*

Vid. supra 276.

be like him; and who is *He that shall appear* but Jesus Christ? and the Context proveth it, 1 *Joh.* 2. 28.

But to conclude this tedious Entertainment of the Gentile Divinity, I will only add, that many Heathen held Opinion, that the World should have End by Fire. Of which perswasion [Generally] were all the Stoicks; *Seneca* is press and full, *At illo tempore, solutis Legibus, sine modo fertur. Qua ratione inquiris? eadem qua* Conflagratio *futura est. Utrumque fit cum* Deo visum *ordiri* meliora, *Vetera* finiri. *At that time absolved from all Laws, it doth observe no measure. How can that be dost thou say? why, in the same manner wherein the* Conflagration shall; *both the one and the other is when it pleaseth God either to give beginning unto new* Things, *or else to put an end* to old, &c. *Ovid* sayes as much.

Sen. Nat. Quæst. l. 3.

Otil. Martaner. Dr. Dove against Atheism, ch. 14. August. Strach. Eugub. de perenni philosph. l. 10. c. 29.

Esse quoq; in Fatis Reminiscitur, *affore tempus*
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa laboret.

That time *shall come when both the Earth and Sea,*
With Heavens Arch so Glorious to behold
Shall burn, *and shall turn unto Decay.*

So also Lucretius.

Una dies dabit exitio, multosq; per annos
Sustentata ruet moles, *&* machina mundi,
Accidet exitium cœli terræque futurum.

The world which stood so many years
Shall in one day *destroyed be,*

De-

Destruction likewise shall appear
For Heaven and Earth most suddenly.

To this also agreeth the Poet *Lucan*, his words be these, *Lucan. Bell. Civ. l. 1.*

Invida fatorum series, summisq; negatum
Stare *diu*, nimioque graves, sub pondere lapsus,
Nec se Roma ferens. Sic cum compage soluta
Secula tot mundi *suprema* coegerit *hora*,
Antiquum repetens iterum *Chaos*, omnia mistis
Sidera Sideribus concurrent, ignea pontum
Astra petent, tellus extendere littora nollet,
Excutietq; fretum. Fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata diem poscet sibi; totaque discors
Machina, divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi.

The Fates *envy the States of mortal men,*
The Highest Seats do not continue long:
Great is the fall under the greater burden,
(And Greatest things do to themselves great'st wrong)
Rome *was so great (whom all the world did fear)*
That Rome *her self she could no longer bear.*
So when this well couch't frame of World shall burn,
And the last hour so many ages end:
To former Chaos *all things shall Return,*
(The Envious Fates this Issue do portend)
Then all the Planets shall confus'dly meet,
And fires cælestial on the floods shall fleet.
The Earth shall grudge *to make the Sea a shore,*

And

And cast it off, and push the flood away:
The Moon enrag'd shall cross her Brother sore,
And seek to alter course, to shine by day:
Thus all at odds, in strife and out of frame,
They shall disturb the world, and spoil the same.

So great a Light was that afforded to the Gentiles, in all Essential points of true Religion: which perhaps, if we possessed all the Volumes perisht by the Injury of Times, and the Destiny of Letters, would have appeared much greater; yet so great it seems now by what Discourses I have made already, (the which I might enlarge on every Article,) That none that does unprejudicedly weigh them, can have cause to *wonder* either at *Clement*'s, or at *Lactantius*'s sense in favour of the old Philosophers, or that St. *Austin* should say, "That the Jews dare

A g. de civ. l. 18. c. 47.

"not averr that *no man* was *saved* "after the Propagation of *Israel*, *but* "*Israelites*. Indeed there was no "other People properly called the "*People of God*. But they *can't* de- "ny that some *Particular* Men lived "in the world, in other Nations, that "were *belonging* to the Heavenly *Hierarchie*. And *Vives* in his Notes is of the same Perswasion.

But do you *ask* by what means Gentiles who were Aliens from the Common-wealth of *Israel*, and without the Line of that Communion; *became* acquainted with those great Truths of which the *Jews* only had the solemn keeping? I answer, that (as I have often intimated) *It was either* (1.) *By a Catholick or General Tradition from the first and most Antient Fathers*; *Or* (2.) *By some Extraordinary Revelation or Discovery made to them*; *Or* (3.) *By Communication from the* Hebrews, *the* Israelites, *and* Jews, *who as a Church, were a* Candlestick *to hold the Light committed to them*,

them, **out** *to all the* **Earth.**

That *most of those Doctrines I have noted, were communicated down from hand to hand by* **Immemorial Tradition,** from the first and most *Antient* Fathers, is not difficult to be conceived by those that know, that *as* all men came from *Adam* in the *first* World, *so* that in the *second* all did Descend from *Noah*, who had the knowledge of the true Religion, and instructed all his children in it, which children cannot be imagined but also to instruct and teach theirs, and so onward. But this is not *all*; for the *πανσημοτάτων* or *mos majorum* was a thing insisted on by all the Heathen, who ever pleaded for the Rites of their Religions, that they had *received* them from their *forefathers*, and that they were of Antient *Usage*; yes, and that *Plato* (whom *Aristobulus* the *Jew* affirmeth to have been a follower of the Law of his Nation, and to be very studious of the Doctrines in the Sacred Oracles, and whom *Numenius*

Nunc. ap. Illustr. de Philos.

nius for the same Reason styles the *Attick Moses*,) he sayes expressly, That he *Gleaned all he had, and wrote in that kind, out of* Immemorial and Unwritten, *but almost expired* and worn out Traditions. For in his *Politie* in the Place which I have cited in my Advertisement to the Reader, he plainly tells us, *That* the points he speaks of, *were transmitted from our first Predecessors*, ἀπομνημονεύεσθο ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φεγόνων τῶν πρώτων, &c. *That* those that *lived in the former Ages Preached*, (it is his own Expression) τούτων διδάσκαλοι ἀφικοντ' λόγων, *They were* Preachers *of the very things that now are causelesly rejected of many.* οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ πολλῶν οὐκ ἐμδῶς ἀπεῶν). The like in his *Philebus*, which I also noted before, wherein he sayes, that *the* Antients, *better men than we, and dwelling nearer to the Gods*, delivered *to us the* Report or Fame *of these things* [τούτων φήμην παρέδοσ'·] Yes, and in his *Republique*, he maketh *Adimantus*

Plat. in Politic. p. 271.

Plat. ibid.

Plat. in Phileb. p. 16.

tus in Address to *Socrates*, to speak the same, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡρώων ἀρξάμενοι, *deducing your Discourses from the* [Antient] *Heroes who were from the Beginning*, ὧν λόγοι καλῶς μαχρὶ τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων, *The Remains of whose Discourses are arrived even down to us.* 'Tis very probable that these whom *Plato* calls the *first* Ancestors, the *Antients*, *better* men than we, *nearer* to the Gods, *Heroes* that were from the Beginning, I mean the *first Patriarchs* (for so I understand him) *Noah* for instance and his *children*, are the same designed by the fam'd *Apollo*, when in answer to a grave and serious Inquiry made by *Zeno Citticus*, *how he might institute* and frame and order his Life *Best?* He sayes, εἰ συμφωνίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς, that he would institute and frame and order it best, *if he made it to conform to the* Dead. *Apollo*'s Dead, and *Plato*'s Heroes are the same.

Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 366.

Apollo apud Laert. in Zenon.

Thus *by Oral Tradition*, or Report, by which I mean a *delivery down*

Nunes. ap. Illustr. de Philos.

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down of Doctrines from hand to hand by Words, or else by visible and significant Actions, many things were transferred from preceding to succeeding ages. But Report or Oral Tradition and Delivery, is in it self a *means* of conveyance so *Uncertain* and fallible, that when it passes many hands, there can but little be *confided* to it in controverted matters; (for) then it proveth (most commonly) so diversified and various, that it is the *cause* of Controversies, not the *cure*; the persons that convey it are so lyable either to *mistake* and Imposture, or to *design* & Interest. Nothing is more Obvious, or more frequently experienced than this: For the *Report* of an Accident but at *One* End of the Town; albeit it may *Retain* (as for the most part it *doth*) some *general likeness* and similitude of the First and Original Truth: yet 'tis *disguised* with a thousand Errors; though perhaps in some places with more, in some with less, according to the different

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Capacities, Numbers, Tempers, Affections and Designs of those that have the conveying of it. Report the further it goes, the more it loses of Truth, and the more it gains of Error.

In this Instance we have a lively *Pourtraict* of the *False Religion* of the Gentiles, and the plain *Reason* why it seemeth in so many things an Apish *Imitation* of the *True*; why it is so *diversified* in it self, and yet withall *Retaineth* such Resemblance and Conformity with Ours. It is because *that* all men came from one, and *that* not only *Adam*, but *Noah* did instruct his children in the Mysteries of the True Religion, and in the Rites of it, and these again *Reported* to theirs, and so onward. But we may easily believe it to have hapned in this Tradition, *as* it doth in all others, that there was almost in every *New* delivery and Transmission, (for the mentioned causes) some *departure* and Recess from the *Former*; and *thence* arose so great

great **Diversity** in several parts of the World; yet (*what also is in all* Reports) notwithstanding so much Variation in *Particulars* as there was among them; all *Retained* some **Agreement** in the *General*, and *that* Greater or Lesser, as those that made them were either *nearer* to the *first Reporters*, or more Remote; or else were more or less *Intelligent*, *Faithful*, careful and sincere in Transferring them. *Cunning* and Designing men foisted in something of their own, and made the *Catholick* Traditions, to father their *conceits*; But *others* were more *Honest*: Hence the *Variety*, and hence the *Agreement* in the Religions of the World.

Now, those *General Articles*, Heads, or Points of Religion, wherein all men all the World over commonly agree, and which are therefore called **common sentiments**, *though* they be *not* (what by some they be imagined) *Innate Idea's*, or Notions ingrafted and imprinted on

on the Minds of Men by Nature, but (as I have evinced them) *main* and *substantial Points of the first Tradition*, and consequently, *Retained* in all the following, with more or less Disguise; *yet* be they as *Infallibly and Indubitably true, as if they were*; since 'tis as impossible that they should obtain so *Universally* (all the World over) if indeed they were not the Traditions of a *first and common Parent*, as that they should be false, if they *were*. For grant one *first Parent* common to all the World, who could not but know the Truth, and that he so delivered things to his Children, and *doubt* O Atheist, the *Reality* of them, if thou canst!

Finally, *How disguised* soever Truth was in those Successive Traditions, as necessarily it *must* have been in passing through so many and so diversly affected hands; *yet* as in other Reports, so also in these, when one becomes acquainted with the Original Truth, he will be able by

com-

comparing and conferring, to Discover the *Causes*, or rather the first Occasions and *Rises* of *Mistakes* and Errors, [what grounds there were for such;] since it is as certain, that all *Mistake*, Error, Falsity hath for its bottom and foundation one or another *Truth*, as that *Evil* has some *Good* to ground it. *This* consideration will administer abundant Light to those that mind it, for their understanding of the cogency of some of those Discourses I have made before, about the *Christianity disguised in many of the Gentile Rites*; and it was for that Purpose, and with that Design, namely, that it might reflect upon them somewhat of strength and confirmation, that I made any mention of it here; for doing which, after I have offered this Apology, I hope I need no Pardon. Thus *Tradition was one way.*

But though Tradition was *One*; yet the *only* way it was not whereby the Gentiles became acquainted with the

the Mysteries of the True Religion, for besides *that*, we are to conceive they had some **Extraordinary Revelations** *and Discoveries of them, by Inspiration or Oracle*: There not being any Nation under Heaven, and in the whole Universe, wherein (if you will credit *Cicero*) *Divination* was not. And indeed the *Antient Superstition* was *Magick*. Of which truth we are assured not only by the Definition *Plato* gives of Magick, ἡ Μαγεία Θεῶν θεραπεία, that *it is the worship of the Gods*; but also by the more Authentick History of *Balaam*, who when he would Divine, did nothing but perform Rites of Religion; he caused *Altars* to be built, and *offered* Bullocks and Rams. Yes, and *Strabo* tells us, that all the Heathen, as well *Barbarians* as *Greeks*, had certain *Festive Sacrifices*, wherein they were *inspired* by the Deity, [σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῷ.] *Pausanias* also having mentioned the *Persians eminent for Divination*, adds, *Et hæc quidem de fœminis*

Cic. de Divin. l. 1. Vid. Jambl. de Myster.

Strab. Geog. L. 10. & 16.

Pausan. in Phocic.

fœminis & viris, quibus ad hunc usq; *diem* Divinandi Scientia Divinitus contigit, *memoriæ prodita sunt. In sequentibus dehinc seculis credi facile potest* alios *ejusmodi homines*, qui futura prædicant, *non defuturos.*

As for the **Rise and Origin of Heathen Inspiration or Oracle**, I do not hold my self obliged to discourse thereof here, farther than as generally hinted, it may serve to regulate our Apprehensions in the present matter; and therefore omitting what *Peripatetiques* and *Stoicks* say, who make *it* the Effect of certain Preparations or Dispositions of mind, or what *Plutarch*, who ascribes it unto Qualities and Temperatures of places; I impute it to **Religion**, and to the state and condition of the first times, wherein Inspirations, while there was no other certain way of knowing the Divine mind, and of being guided by it, were far more frequent and common, than in the more remote. And *no question* but among the many other *Traditi-*

ons,

ins given by *Noah* [Father of the Second World] to his Children, this was *One*, In *Extraordinary Cases to consult* God *for Resolution and Direction by* (a way of) *extraordinary worship and Religion*; for instance, by Extraordinary Prayers, and Extraordinary Sacrifices; it being the acknowledged *Nature* of Religion and Worship, by qualifying and accommodating of the mind to God, to *Invite* and draw him down, and make him present to the Religious, and Worshippers. Thus *all men* all the world over mov'd by *that* Tradition, as by *Instinct* of Nature, did in all unusual and uncommon Emergencies, or when they would be counselled and resolved in any matter, immediately *apply* themselves to the Deity; which the *superstitious* Doing *in wayes* and methods not appointed by the *true* God, expected him in vain, *he* (for the most part) disdaining to approach unto them on such allurements; *whence* it came to pass, they

were *abused* by the *False*, (I mean the Devil) who readily espying and improving this Occasion, *slily intruded* himself; so that appearing *in the place* of God, he passed for *him*. It was thus the *Devil* became the *God* of *this world*, or of the *Gentiles*. The superstitious invocated God in false wayes, who therefore refusing to approach, and visit them, the Devil takes the opportunity; he comes in his stead, and so passes for him.

I am the more *confirmed* in this Opinion, by considering that among the Superstitious, there were the *same* **wayes** of *Responses* by *Visions*, by *Dreams*, by *Voice*, &c. as among the truly Religious; as also by the **Cessation and defect of Oracles** or Inspiration, which on this Notion, and in this way, is more accountable than in any other. For when the Superstitious ceasing to be so, became (as in process of time they did) *diffident* and faithless of the Power and Aptness of the means,

means, for effecting of the Ends pretended, and consequently either *innovated* New Rites, more agreeable to their own conceits, or else grew *cold* and formal in the use of the Old; it followed, that they lost the advantage of such communication and direction from their Gods, as formerly they had, with their Faith and Zeal in those Performances, that is, with that *Religion* which possessed them of it. False Religion made Oracles, and Irreligion ruin'd them. *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*

And who can doubt of this *Account*, or Reason, that seriously considers, *First*, That *we read not of the* Cessation *or Defect of any Oracle, but about the time that* Scepticism and Epicurism obtained. That great Oracle at *Delphos*, so celebrate in all the Earth, then ceasing to answer, as it had before in *Verse*, when the Seeker *Pyrrho* was followed. And *Secondly*, That *Jamblicus* is of the same Opinion, who informs us, that it

Vid. Minuz. Fæl. in Octav.

was the *innovating* and unsteady humour of the *Greeks* that rendred inspiration so unfrequent and rare, among whom (he sayes) it was (for that Reason) of a duration and continuance, much shorter than among the Grave *Barbarians*. *Oportet igitur* (sayes he in his *Mysteries*) Ritus *adorationis* antiquos *tanquam sacros conservare semper* intactos, *neque demere quicquam, neque aliunde quid addere; ferme namque &* hac causa *nuper extitit, ut omnia &* **nomina & vota debilitata** *jam sint; propterea quod propter* ipsam *prævaricationem & invocandi cupiditatem* permutata *sunt semper, & permutari non desinunt.* Græci *namq; natura rerum* novarum studiosi *sunt, ac præcipites usquequaq; feruntur, instar navis saburra carentis, nullam habentis stabilitatem, neq; conservant quod ab aliis acceperunt. Sed & hoc cito dimittunt, & omnia propter instabilitatem, novaque inventionis elocutionem transformare solent.* Barbari *vero sicut mori-*

Jamb. Lib. Myster.

moribus graves, *firmique sunt, sic & in iisdem sermonibus firmiter perseverant*, ob quam *sane* stabilitatem, *& ipsi* Diis *sunt* amici, *&* orationes *offerunt illis* acceptas, *quas nulli ulla* unquam ratione fas est permutare.

But to circumscribe my self: That the *True God did on occasion infuse into the* Heathen *some Divine Motions* is (in my Apprehension) scarce questionable by any that Reflects on *Balaam*. Again, and as little questionable is it, that *the Devil*, after *he had usurped the Place* of *God*, and (as it were) *assumed his Person, did frequently both say and do many things that were like him*, to the end he might more craftily secure the cheat, and pass for what he was not. Though indeed at other times, he acted things like *himself*, which when he was received for God, he might the safer do; and all this as one that *Personates* another is wont, who *must* do something like the person he pretends to be, that he may pass for

him; and *will* do more like himself. Hence the Heathen *Oracles* and *Sibylls* had a *mixture* in both of Good and Bad. The former, that they might *seem* to come from God; the latter, *because* they came from the Devil.

Now whether the *Sibylls* (for of these I principally design to speak, as having pressed their Authority before) were inspired in what they spake of Jesus Christ by the *Deity*; or (as you see I apprehend) prompted by the *Devil*, is a matter not so necessary here to be decided. *Both* wayes are *Possible*. God inspired *Balaam* many hundred years before the Prophets arose, so that he spake as plainly and fully of our Saviour, as any of them all; and for the *Devil*, *he* gave as large and full a Testimony unto Jesus Christ, *when come*, as any in that time beside him. And that he might *Predict* or prophesie of him in the *Sibylls*, and other Oracles, for the *same* respects and Ends *before* he came, *for* which he did confess

confess him *when come*, is not difficult to be conceived by a Thinking and Attentive man. What if the Devil by the *clearness* of his Oracles in this particular, thought either to *out-vye* or to *forestall* the Prophets in theirs? It would not seem a Design (if that were his) Unworthy either of the *Envy*, or the *subtlety*, for which he is so infamous. And what if he intended to *verifie* his Divinity to after Ages, by the Truth of his Prognosticks in the former? Besides, he might conceive it would intangle and perplex succeeding times, as indeed it mightily hath; which to design was proper for him.

Once, 'tis out of doubt that there were *Sibylls*, and those Antient, though *how Antient* it be not easie to determine. Certain it is, their Writings (of old) were held at *Rome* in extraordinary *Veneration*, there being *Officers* appointed, during both the Government of *Kings*, and that of the *People*, to preserve, and

Vid. Lactant. Instit. l. 1. c. 6. —de Ira Dei, c. 22. Plin. in Nat. ad August. de Civit. l. 18. c. 23. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. l. 4.

on occasion to inspect and consult them. That after the Conflagration of the *Capitol*, and of the Books with it which hapned in the one hundred fifty fourth Olympiad, there were Ambassadours sent on purpose to *Erithræ*, to repair that loss, which was done in part from thence, and in part from other Cities. In fine, *Augustus* by his Edict commanded that all the Verses going under the name of *Sibylls*, in the possession of any in his Territories, should be brought to the Præfect of the City of *Rome*, to be by him submitted to the Censure of the *Quindecem viri*, who were to judge which were true, and which false, severely forbidding private persons to retain or keep them. Thus they were preserved till the time of *Stillico*, who destroyed them. Of so much credit they were.

Indeed, That among the Writings commonly reputed Sibylline, there were antiently a many *false*, supposititious, and ingenuine, cannot be denyed

denyed by one who reads in *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* an express Assertion of it; or that considers, that it was (as *Tacitus* affirms) the Motive of the Edict (so lately mentioned) of the great *Augustus*. And for the times *since* Christ, what the learned *Vossius* hath suggested may in part be true; that many of the Writings now obtruded on us for the *Sibylls*, may be **Pious frauds**, contrived to beguile the Heathen, by men of honester designs and meanings than Practices.

Dionys. Halicarn. ubi supra.

Tacitus Annal. l. 6. f. 380. Ed. Lips.

Voss. de Poet. Gra. c. 1.

Of *this* sort, forasmuch as the *Devil* who resided at the celebrated *Delphos*, was long *before* forsaken of his *versifying Humour* at least, (as is very Evident from *Cicero*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch* and many others) is that famous Oracle pretended to be given by him to *Augustus Cæsar*, viz.

Cic. de Divinat. l. 2. Strabo Geogr. l. 17. Plutarch. de Orat. defect.

Ἐξεῖθ' πλανεῖ με δεῦρ' μακάριον ἀνάκτορα
Τὸν ἐξ ἄκρου ἀφλεκτοῦντ, ἐξ ἀδύτου πάλιν ἀδύτου
ἴκαδε,
Ἀστῶν ὑπόστρωμα τὰ βωμῶν ἐμπλήσαντα.

Me puer Hebræus jubet hinc Rex ille Deorum
Tartareas remeare Domos hac ade relicta,
Post ergo ora tenens altaria nostra relinquo.

And of the same bran I reckon that Tale of *Theodosius* the *Jew*, which Mr. *Howell* sayes he found in *Suidas*, and concerning which he prayeth the Judgement of the Learned Doctor *Usher*, in a Letter sent (to him) for that purpose. The Story is this; "That when the "Temple was founded in *Jerusalem*, "there were twenty two Priests ac-"cording to the number of the He-"brew Letters to Officiate in the "Temple, and when any was chosen, "his name with his Fathers and "Mo-

Howells Letters, Sect. 6. Let. 37. Vid. Mornay of Verity of Christian Religion, c. 30.

"Mothers were used to be Register'd "in a fair Book. In the time of "*Christ* a Priest dyed, and *he* was "chosen in his Place; but when his "name was to be entred, his Father "*Joseph* being dead, his Mother "was sent for, who being asked, "who was his Father, she answe-"red, that she never knew man, but "that she conceiv'd by an Angel. "So his Name was Register'd in "these words, JESUS CHRIST "THE SON OF GOD, AND "OF THE VIRGIN MARY. "This Record at the Destruction of "the Temple was preserved, and "is to be seen in *Tiberias* to this day. Thus *He*.

These, and other *instances* of *Pious Fraud* in former times, may be a just ground whereon to raise suspicion, that *some* of those Verses commonly reputed *Sibylls*, were no better; but that all were *so*, or that the most, is not at any hand to be admitted, seeing they were insisted on so much, and appealed to so often,